

Weighty Cases / But No Daring Decisions

The Supreme Court Tiptoes Into Everyday Life

By Joan Biskupic
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON—They are secluded in a place that has been called the Marble Palace, and they conceal their personalities beneath black robes. They rely on stacks of paper to interpret the human dilemmas before them and reach all their conclusions in private, ornate chambers.

Yet to a degree rare in recent history, the Supreme Court justices this term considered the rhythm and dramas of ordinary people — and handed down decisions that could affect them significantly.

The justices put themselves in the place of the rank and file on the job. They saw the vulnerability of people who confide in family lawyers. They stepped into the shoes of cops chasing a fleeing suspect. And in one of the most important cases of the term that ended in a spree of decisions last week, they considered what it is like to live — and die — with the AIDS virus.

In many of the 91 rulings produced since the justices convened on the first Monday in October, the majority searched out a middle ground. They were practical. They asked what a reasonable person would think. And in what has come to be a hallmark of this moderate-conservative court, the justices captured a societal consensus. It was as if they looked out at the range of American beliefs and drew a circle around the center.

Sexual harassment is too common a problem, the court said, and no one should have to put up with it. But employers need not punish harmless flirtations. Whatever the justices may think of gays and drug users, they made it clear that the AIDS virus that has come to be associated with those groups ought to be treated like any other disease. The justices acknowledged the public's concern over sexually explicit or offensive material and said, with only one of their brethren dissenting, that the federal government can consider standards of decency and respect for American values in deciding which art to fund.

While this term failed to match the momentous sweep of cases from the previous year, including physician-assisted suicide and Internet pornography, the recently completed session offered no less an occasion for the justices to intersect with American life. It showed again how, as Congress works incrementally, and often without consequence, the justices are moving with forceful strokes in laying out the law of the land.

The pragmatic character of the court has emerged over the years, extending to its 1992 decision upholding a woman's right to abortion but with some restrictions, and including last term's rulings against a right to physician-assisted suicide for the terminally ill but leaving open such a right in the future. Those decisions, pollsters and commentators found, tapped into a consensus of public opinion.

"This is a nuanced court," a Stanford University law professor, Kathleen Sullivan, said Saturday, adding that it "splits the difference and avoids drawing bright lines."

This approach, embodied mostly in the voices of Justices Anthony Kennedy and Sandra Day O'Connor, flows from a belief that the court's central task is to interpret law, not create it. The justices generally read the Constitution narrowly and look for exactly what Congress had in mind when it passed a law. The majority is not about to breathe into a

statute what Congress failed to insert.

That thrust contrasts with the liberal era of the 1960s and 1970s when the court spoke most eloquently on behalf of racial minorities, the poor and the disadvantaged. Bygone jurists such as Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices William Brennan Jr. and Thurgood Marshall believed that judges should find the essential meaning of the law not only in the text of the Constitution or statutes but in the broader needs of contemporary America. Rather than define where the nation was, they pushed and provoked so it would end up where they thought it ought to be.

If anything, this court catches up to where America already is. Rather than offering eloquently rendered, broad-reaching principles, today's majority carefully parses the law in hopes of reflecting society's norms.

Justice O'Connor and Justice Kennedy, 1981 and 1988 appointees of Mr. Ronald Reagan, most typify the pragmatic, case-by-case approach. And it is these two justices who most often find themselves

taking place. They said that, by now, every employer should know that harassment occurs and take steps to prevent it.

Earlier in the term, the justices took on an emerging workplace question: whether harassment can be considered illegal sex discrimination if the harasser and victim are of the same sex. The justices ruled yes, unanimously.

In that case, Justice Scalia explained it is important to examine the social context of the harassment: "A professional football player's working environment is not severely or pervasively abusive, for example, if the coach smacks him on the buttocks as he heads onto the field—even if the same behavior would reasonably be experienced as abusive by the coach's secretary back at the office." He said the "ordinary socializing in the workplace—such as male-on-male horseplay or intersexual flirtation"—should not be mistaken for discriminatory harassment that unlawfully affects job conditions.

The court's decisions on sexual harassment in the workplace, particularly the two on employer liability last week, made it easier for employees to sue for harassment but also gave employers ways to avoid liability, largely by preventing vulgar remarks, unwanted advances and other harassment in the first place.

That solution was typical of the court's attempt to find a balance in situations that defy easy answers.

"It is a welcome change from previous years when the court and Congress often seemed at war over civil rights laws," said Steven Shapiro, the national legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

But the fourth harassment ruling was not greeted with such warmth by civil rights advocates. The court, split along its usual 5-to-4 divide, held that a student may sue a school district for damages only if the district knew of the harassment and was deliberately indifferent to it.

Critics said it defied common sense for the court to set tougher standards to protect adults against sexual harassment while refusing to safeguard harassed students in the same way.

The reason has to do with the justices' careful reading of the laws they had to work with, and their unwillingness to push beyond what those laws state. As Justice O'Connor explained, the federal statutes governing harassment on the job and at school are different. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is an outright prohibition of sex discrimination and harassment on the job, while Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is based on a presumption that schools that receive federal funds will be notified of discrimination problems first and allowed to correct them before being held financially liable.

"No one questions that a student suffers extraordinary harm when subjected to sexual harassment and abuse by a teacher, and that the teacher's conduct is reprehensible," Justice O'Connor wrote. But she said it is up to Congress to specifically write a law that holds a school district liable for damages for a teacher's harassment of a student even if it didn't know about it.

Justice Kennedy and the rest of the conservative bloc signed Justice O'Connor's opinion. But three days later Justice Kennedy proved the crucial vote in another case, joining the more liberal members in ruling that the federal disabilities law covers people with the virus that causes AIDS.

U.S. Confirms Contacts In Kosovo Peace Effort

The Associated Press

CRANS-MONTANA, Switzerland — Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. envoy, on Sunday confirmed that another U.S. negotiator, Robert Gelbard, had met with people claiming to be representatives of the Kosovo Liberation Army in an unclassified West European city on Friday.

But Mr. Holbrooke said it had yet to be established that the individuals did represent the group, which is fighting for independence from the Serbian province and its ethnic Albanian majority.

"It is up to the people who had contacts with Ambassador Gelbard to demonstrate they do have authority over the armed personnel of the KLA," he said. "The contacts were with people who said they had this authority, but at this point that authority remains to be demonstrated."

The U.S. secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, in Beijing with President Bill Clinton, said that Mr. Gelbard and Mr. Holbrooke were "trying to get a diplomatic solution" but that "planning for other options—by NATO was accelerating."

"All options are on the table," she said, giving no hint of what action might be taken.

Conditional Promise on Truce

Steven Erlanger of The New York Times reported earlier from Washington.

U.S. officials said in Washington that senior political leaders of the Kosovo Liberation Army had committed themselves to abiding by a cease-fire in the province if one could be negotiated.

Mr. Gelbard met two officials of the political directorate of the group for more than four hours on Friday, the officials said.

The American officials refused to provide the names of the rebel leaders or the city in Western Europe where they met, but said Washington had verified their identity. Mr. Gelbard also informed Ibrahim Rugova, the Kosovo Albanian leader, of the meeting in advance, said the officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The group's leaders agreed to work with Mr. Rugova and to "cooperate with him on a cease-fire and political negotiations, while recognizing that for now, at least, they need to support his leadership to try to provide a common negotiating position," a senior American official said.

But the rebel leaders are enormously skeptical of Mr. Rugova and his advocacy of a nonviolent revolt against the government in Belgrade, the American officials conceded.

While supporting Mr. Rugova and his delegation, the Clinton administration has come to understand that he cannot speak for the Kosovo group, which has earned increasing support among ordinary ethnic Albanians in Kosovo in the last six months as Serbian police and military have stepped up their operations in the province, the U.S. officials said.

So Mr. Clinton has apparently decided that a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Kosovo, where President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia is cracking down on the independence movement, requires the political participation of the Kosovo Liberation Army.

The group's agreement is also vital, the officials said, to negotiate and then carry out a cease-fire, because Mr. Milosevic regularly says he cannot stop fighting because he has no guarantees that the group would go along.

For those reasons, the Americans de-

cided they had to make contact with the group, which Mr. Gelbard has criticized, sharply in the past for carrying out what he called terrorist actions against civilians, mostly Serbs, in Kosovo.

"The United States regards Dr. Rugova as the leader of a very disparate group of Kosovo Albanian opinion, and his political party is the largest in Kosovo," a senior U.S. official said. "But clearly the KLA has become a major force, and if we are going to be realistic, they need to be brought into the process."

The State Department spokesman, James Rubin, said Thursday that he expected there would be political contact with the Kosovo group and that Mr. Milosevic was "just going to have to deal with that fact."

Mr. Rubin was also careful not to refer to the group as a terrorist organization, reflecting the new U.S. view that it is "an insurgency," a senior official said Saturday.

The group has taken responsibility for attacks on the Serbian police and on Albanians loyal to Belgrade.

On Wednesday, Mr. Holbrooke, in a village in the region, met with two Kosovo Liberation Army fighters whom he said he had met by chance. The United States has been trying to secure the group's cooperation with an international observer force being set up for Kosovo.

On Friday, as Mr. Gelbard was meeting the political leaders, the Serbian information minister, Alexander Vucic, said in Belgrade that Mr. Holbrooke had made "a terrible diplomatic gaffe."

Mr. Vucic said Mr. Gelbard's meetings with the Kosovo fighters represented "proof that the U.S. intelligence services and even the U.S. government are behind this gang of Albanian separatists and terrorists."

Free Democrats Seek Distance From Kohl But Affirm Coalition

Reuters

LEIPZIG, Germany — The liberal Free Democrats wrapped up a party congress on Sunday, pledging loyalty to the troubled governing coalition while distancing themselves from Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

With less than three months to go before the Sept. 17 general election, the Free Democratic Party sought to polish its image as a force for change and champion of the free market in the center-right coalition with Mr. Kohl's Christian Democratic Union, or CDU.

"We are first and foremost the Free Democratic Party and only after that coalition partners of the CDU," General-Secretary Guido Westerwelle said to lengthy applause from delegates.

But an overwhelming majority of the 660 delegates voted in favor of continued participation in the governing coalition.

Opinion polls indicate that the Free Democratic Party is teetering on the edge of the 5 percent threshold below which it would be excluded from Parliament. Party leaders said the only way to ensure that the party cleared the hurdle was to fight for its own agenda.

The Free Democrats stressed the need for lower taxes and a liberal civil rights policy. They accused the Christian Democratic Union and its conservative Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, of foot-dragging on reforms to attract investment and reduce unemployment.



In front row, from left to right: Antonin Scalia, John Paul Stevens, William Rehnquist, Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy. In back row, from left to right: Ruth Bader Ginsburg, David Souter, Clarence Thomas and Stephen Breyer.

in the majority, and for that reason they have come to define the court's center. As a broad philosophy, they adopt federalist principles, believing that Congress should stay out of affairs that ought to be the domain of the states.

Of much the same mind but further to the right are Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas. Justice Rehnquist was appointed by Richard Nixon in 1971 and elevated to chief by Mr. Reagan in 1986. Justice Scalia was appointed by Mr. Reagan in 1986 and Justice Thomas by George Bush in 1991.

The "liberal wing," such as it is, comprises Justices John Paul Stevens, David Souter, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer. Justice Stevens, who was appointed by Gerald Ford, is the eldest justice at 78 and just completed his 23rd year on the bench. Justice Souter is a 1990 Bush appointee and Justice Ginsburg and Justice Breyer were named by President Bill Clinton in 1993 and 1994. The 5 to 4 split on the court has yielded some controversial outcomes, but in many of the most closely watched cases of the term, the ideological groupings dissolved.

The court delved into the harassing behavior that has become commonplace in many workplaces. In one of two 7-to-2 rulings on the topic, Justice Souter wrote for the court that "sexual harassment by supervisors is a persistent problem." Only Justices Scalia and Thomas dissented.

In the opinions by Justice Souter and Justice Kennedy on the last day of the term, the court said employers can be held liable for the misconduct of their supervisors even if they did not know it was

TRAVEL UPDATE

Forbidden Sites

BEIJING (AFP) — Thousands of tourists were shut out Sunday of one of China's top tourist spots as President Bill Clinton and his family caught up on sightseeing at Beijing's Forbidden City.

U.S. Embassy officials were surprised because the Chinese authorities had said the site would remain open during the one-and-a-half-hour visit. The site is particularly busy on Sundays.

Several dozen performers at Disneyland Paris maintained a strike Sunday.

though the parade they perform in has gone on without them, a spokeswoman said.

Belfast is going into the tourism business. Community festivals and potential for "political tourism" have spawned a demand for bed and breakfast guesthouses, hostels and hotels. (Reuters)

This Week's Holidays
Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed this week in the following countries because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Chile, Colombia, Malta, Peru, Seychelles, Tahiti, Ukraine, Vatican City.

TUESDAY: Congo, Guatemala, Sudan, Zaire.

WEDNESDAY: Bangladesh, Botswana, Burundi, Canada, Egypt, Ghana, Guatemala, Hong Kong, Macao, Pakistan, Rwanda, Suriname, Taiwan, Thailand.

FRIDAY: Bahrain, Belarus, United States, Virgin Islands.

SATURDAY: Burma, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Rwanda, United States, Virgin Islands.

SUNDAY: Czech Republic. Sources: J.P. Morgan, Bloomberg, Reuters.

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WEATHER

Forecast for Tuesday through Thursday, as provided by AccuWeather.

Europe	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low	Day After	High	Low
Algeria	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Amsterdam	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Athens	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Berlin	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Bombay	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Buenos Aires	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Calcutta	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Caracas	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Cebu	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Colon	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Dakar	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Dhaka	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Hankow	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Hong Kong	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Kobe	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
London	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Lyons	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Manila	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Moscow	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Mumbai	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Nairobi	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Paris	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Rangoon	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Rio de Janeiro	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Singapore	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Sourabaya	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Taipei	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Tokyo	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12
Yokohama	21/18	18/14	14/10	22/19	19/15	11/7	23/20	20/16	16/12

North America	Europe	Asia
Hot and dry with near-record heat from New Mexico through Texas to southern Plains Tuesday to Thursday. Gusty thunderstorms in the Midwest Tuesday; sunny and warm Wednesday and Thursday. Heat and humidity dominate in the Northeast, but more comfortable with sun Thursday.	Windy and cool with showers in London and Paris Tuesday through Thursday. Sunny and warm in Athens and Bucharest. Warm with sun in Rome Tuesday, but thunderstorms are likely by Thursday. Windy across the Alps in Switzerland and northern Italy Wednesday and Thursday.	Monsoon and northern monsoon rains in China, including Beijing—will be hot and humid Tuesday to Thursday, warm and humid Wednesday and most of Japan. So will be warm and humid with some sun, but rather likely Thursday. Sailing weather in the South China Sea to North Korea Wednesday and Thursday.

THE AMERICAS

Mexico's Soaring Crime Rate: A Hazard of Loss of Control at the Top

By Sam Dillon
New York Times Service

MEXICO CITY — Not so long ago, Mexico seemed a reasonably safe place, especially when compared with Latin American societies in the throes of civil war or paramilitary violence. But that has changed. Now virtually every day, terrifying new crimes dramatize the country's public security crisis.

In recent weeks, a Vermont artist was knifed to death on a Pacific Coast beach. A kidnapper called a Mexico City newspaper to boast about hacking off the ears of his hostages and to jeer at the authorities' inability to stop him. Military police ordered to investigate the disappearance of scores of people in a city on the Texas border were themselves arrested

collecting a kidnapping ransom. The State Department has cautioned visiting Americans about the rising crime rates.

Mexican criminologists, sociologists and others are debating what has gone wrong. How did one of the safest countries in the Western Hemisphere become a place where tourists are panicking and millions fear criminal attack whenever they leave home?

Some blame the economy, which for 15 years has seen real wages fall and the breach between rich and poor widen. Some cite sociology, saying that an entire generation of police officers are now using their violent skills as participants in organized crime.

Others trace the crisis to the justice system, which is so discredited that most crimes go unreported, fewer are investigated,

and only a tiny fraction of the perpetrators are ever punished.

Some even blame the growth of democracy, which by stripping Mexico's ruling party of many of its authoritarian powers has also diminished its ability to repress crime.

NEWS ANALYSIS

One thing is common to all these explanations. There is a sense that Mexico's top civilian authorities have lost control of the country's criminals, who now see lucrative opportunities on all sides.

"In practical terms, the Mexican state simply doesn't respond to most crimes," said Ernesto Lopez Portillo, co-author of a 1994 study of public security issues. "The authorities refuse to recognize the severity of the public security crisis, partly because

it's so frightening."

The facts are sobering. Although record-keeping is chaotic, and fear of police keeps many victims from reporting crimes, government statistics for Mexico City show that reported murders rose by 50 percent from 1990 to 1995 and that robbery incidents have multiplied six-fold in 15 years. Experts estimate that kidnappings in Mexico, once rare, now number at least 1,500 a year.

Rafael Ruiz Harrell, a professor who is one of Mexico's most meticulous crime statisticians, has charted annual figures for all reported crimes since 1930 and concluded: "There's a clear association between economic crisis and crime."

For 50 years after 1930, Mexican workers enjoyed an almost uninterrupted rise in their standard

of living, and in those years, he says, crime declined with equal constancy, even though Mexican wages remained far below the standard in the United States.

But beginning in 1983, the first year after an economic crisis sent wages into free-fall, crime rates took off, and they have yet to level out. In 1995, the year following a disastrous peso devaluation, reported crimes in Mexico surged 35 percent, he said.

"Never before in our history has crime grown this rapidly," Mr. Ruiz said.

Economic determinism has its critics, however, including President Ernesto Zedillo. In an appearance in June in New York, Mr. Zedillo said that attributing street crime to economic factors amounts to blaming the poor. Instead, he said, the problem lies

with the "inefficiency" of Mexico's crime-fighting institutions.

How do inefficient police and prosecutors translate into more crime? "Potential criminals act rationally and base their decision to commit a crime on an analysis of costs and benefits," said a recent World Bank study of crime in Latin America.

Those who apply this calculus in Mexico see that crimes like kidnapping and drug trafficking have proven extremely lucrative in recent years, and punishment is rare. "In Mexico as elsewhere, crime is a career option that competes with others," Mr. Lopez said.

Many Mexicans are turning to crime because punishment is remote. The criminal justice system is chaotic; the country has had seven attorneys general in nine

years, and turnover among lower officials is higher.

Given the disorder, Mr. Lopez estimated that of each 100 crimes reported to authorities, only 5 are investigated.

But Mexico's justice system has never worked efficiently. So why is crime surging now? Until recently, Mr. Lopez said, government officials from the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, known as the PRI, controlled the criminal class, often favoring one mafia in exchange for kickbacks while suppressing rival groups and never allowing crime to surpass certain bounds. But as the PRI has begun to share power, it has lost control of the criminals, he said.

"The old rules no longer apply, and new ones haven't emerged," he said.



KLAN MARCH — An officer keeping armed counterprotesters apart at a peaceful Ku Klux Klan rally in Jasper, Texas, where a black was dragged to death.

AMERICAN TOPICS

If Majority Fails Teacher Test, Should State Grade on Curve?

So many aspiring educators flunked the first Massachusetts test of basic reading and writing skills for teachers that officials decided to grade them on a curve.

Fifty-six percent of those who took the test failed. The State Board of Education then voted to lower the passing grade to reduce the failure rate to 44 percent. Officials explained that the examination required some fine-tuning.

That failed to satisfy a number of critics, who noted that some test-takers had mis-spelled simple words, or written at a fifth- or sixth-grade level. The speaker of the state House, Thomas Finneran, said he was appalled that some candidates could not "define a noun or a verb or what democracy means." He called those who failed, and the professors who had given them their college degrees, "idiots."

The acting governor of Massachusetts, Paul Cellucci, called for testing of all current teachers, a proposal immediately criticized by state teachers groups. Until this year, Massachusetts was one of only seven states that did not require teachers to pass a test to qualify for certification.

Some in Massachusetts insist that the

test is not relevant to the question of whether the prospective teachers will do their work carefully and competently. In any case, those who failed the test will be allowed to try again in July. And when the results are released, state officials will announce which colleges produced which test scores.

Short Take

New York was his kind of town. Los Angeles was his lady. Frank Sinatra loved Chicago, too. As for his hometown, Hoboken, New Jersey, he had problems. Sinatra once reportedly called it "a sewer."

Now, more than a month after the entertainer's death, that city is deeply divided over how it should honor the Sinatra legacy. Earlier this week, state lawmakers allocated \$100,000 for a Hoboken Historical Museum to celebrate the city that calls itself the birthplace of baseball and steamboats. The museum will include an "appropriate commemoration" for Mr. Sinatra, officials say. Fans say that is not enough: The singer should have his own museum before Hoboken does.

"People would flock to the museum like they flocked to Graceland," where Elvis Presley once lived, said Ed Shirak, a Sinatra memorabilia collector. The love-hate relationship has a long history. Mr. Sinatra was pelted with tomatoes and heckled in two Hoboken appearances after he began his rise to fame. He vowed never to perform there again.

Brian Knowlton

UN Arrears Imperil U.S. Assembly Vote

The Bill Is Bigger Than Expected

By Christopher S. Wren
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The United States could lose its vote in the General Assembly unless it comes up with \$211 million to \$241 million more than it now expects to pay in United Nations dues and assessments this year, according to a new U.S. government estimate.

The warning appears in a new study by the General Accounting Office on the UN's financial problems and the arrears owed by the United States. The study was requested by members of Congress, some of whom have expressed skepticism about how much the United States owes the United Nations.

The study gratified UN officials because it recognizes the financial problems created by the United States and other countries that are behind on their dues and backs up the basic figures used by the world organization.

"The report is important for what it says," said Joseph Connor, the UN undersecretary for management. "And what it says is that the regular budget deficit is growing, that peacekeeping cash is declining, that the total resources available to the organization are diminishing."

Mr. Connor said that the UN kept itself afloat by raiding its peacekeeping budget, postponing payments to troop contributors and commercial suppliers and resorting to other financially imprudent measures.

The report barely touches on the influence that the United States has lost at the United Nations by not paying its bills.

Its power has not eroded in the Security Council, which is more important than the General Assembly and where the debates often entail issues of war and peace.

But at other levels, said Richard Sklar, the U.S. delegate responsible for reform and management issues, "our influence is plummeting through the floor every day."

He said that when he proposes economies to other delegates, they say: "What right do you have to talk to us? You're a deadbeat."

Primarily because of its arrears, the United States lost its seat on a key committee that advises the General Assembly on administrative and budget questions. The loss of its General Assembly vote could come in January.

A UN spokesman, Fred Eckhard, said that members currently owe \$977 million for the regular 1998 budget. The United States, as the organization's largest contributor, accounts for nearly two-thirds of the total arrears.

As of June 15, the UN reported that the United States owed about \$1.5 billion in dues and assessments, while the United States says it owes a little over \$1 billion.

POLITICAL NOTES

Republicans Set Up A Spending Battle

WASHINGTON — Congressional Republicans staked out their ground last week for the final four months of an ideological combat with Democrats and the White House before election day.

They have picked the 13 spending bills that fund the operations of the federal government for a fight over issues ranging from social policy — such as abortion restrictions and gay rights — to business regulation, education reforms and environmental restrictions.

The strategy is a controversial though time-honored one that involves slipping often-unexpected policy pronouncements into the annual procession of nuts-and-bolts spending bills.

Last year, in the harmonious aftermath of the balanced budget agreement, the practice was largely avoided. Not this time.

As the bills began moving through the House and Senate last week, they were saddled with numerous amendments that caused some heated denunciations on the House and Senate floors and have attracted the ire of the White House.

While few people are predicting the kind of legislative chaos that prompted two government shutdowns in 1995, the White House expressed "grave concerns" Friday about various provisions and threatened to veto at least five of the 13 bills. One of the five bills — the largest domestic spending measure — involves funds for the departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education. The other bills are for

funds for the departments of State, the Interior, Justice, Commerce and Veteran Affairs. WP

Net Frenzy in Congress

WASHINGTON — The Internet, with its influence on everything from commerce and national security to privacy and crime, has become an issue as politically alluring to many lawmakers as cutting taxes, educating children and locking up criminals.

Barely a week goes by on Capitol Hill without a hearing, a meeting or a gathering about an Internet-related issue.

Last week, after governors had threatened to tax the Internet, the House voted to keep the levies at bay. When parents expressed fears about pedophiles stalking their children on the Internet, the House passed legislation to help prosecutors chase them down. And when Hollywood voiced deep concern about copyright piracy in cyberspace, House members began studying how to protect software and movies.

Just two years ago, few members of Congress knew much about the Internet. But since millions of voters have discovered it, so have they. NYT

Quote/Unquote

President Bill Clinton, on a visit to the Great Wall of China on Sunday, asked if he saw any reason now that made the wall necessary: "I believe this wall now is a symbol that China shows to the rest of the world, not a wall to keep people out. It sort of unifies the country." Reuters

Away From Politics

• The dome of the U.S. Capitol is being prepared for a massive repair job. Completed in December 1863 at the height of the Civil War, the dome is cracked or corroded in an estimated 200 places and has at least 12 coats of lead-based paint that must be stripped and replaced in a complicated overhaul that could begin by the end of the year. The project ultimately will cost \$26 million, but the price could be higher if further damage is found when the paint comes off. (WP)

• Pierce thunderstorms swamped parts of eight U.S. states, bringing severe, sudden flooding requiring helicopter rescues. A train derailed and spilled fuel in the extreme weather that killed at least seven people in Vermont, Ohio, Minnesota and northern New York and parts of four other states. (AP)

• The Coast Guard reopened the Mississippi River to north-bound shipping on Saturday night, almost 19 hours after a tugboat collision dumped 69,000 gallons (260,000 liters) of oil in the river about 80 miles (128 kilometers) upriver from New Orleans, a spokesman said. The river remained closed to south-bound traffic. (Reuters)

• Skirmishes broke out but serious violence was averted as black radicals tried to crash a Ku Klux Klan rally on Saturday in a Jasper, Texas, town where a black man was dragged to his death behind a pickup truck earlier this month. (Reuters)

• The Cincinnati Enquirer said it had agreed to pay Chiquita Brands International \$10 million in damages for "untrue" articles in May alleging that the fruit giant had questionable business practices. The paper published a front-page apology signed by its publisher and editor and said that the paper's chief investigative reporter had been fired. (Reuters)

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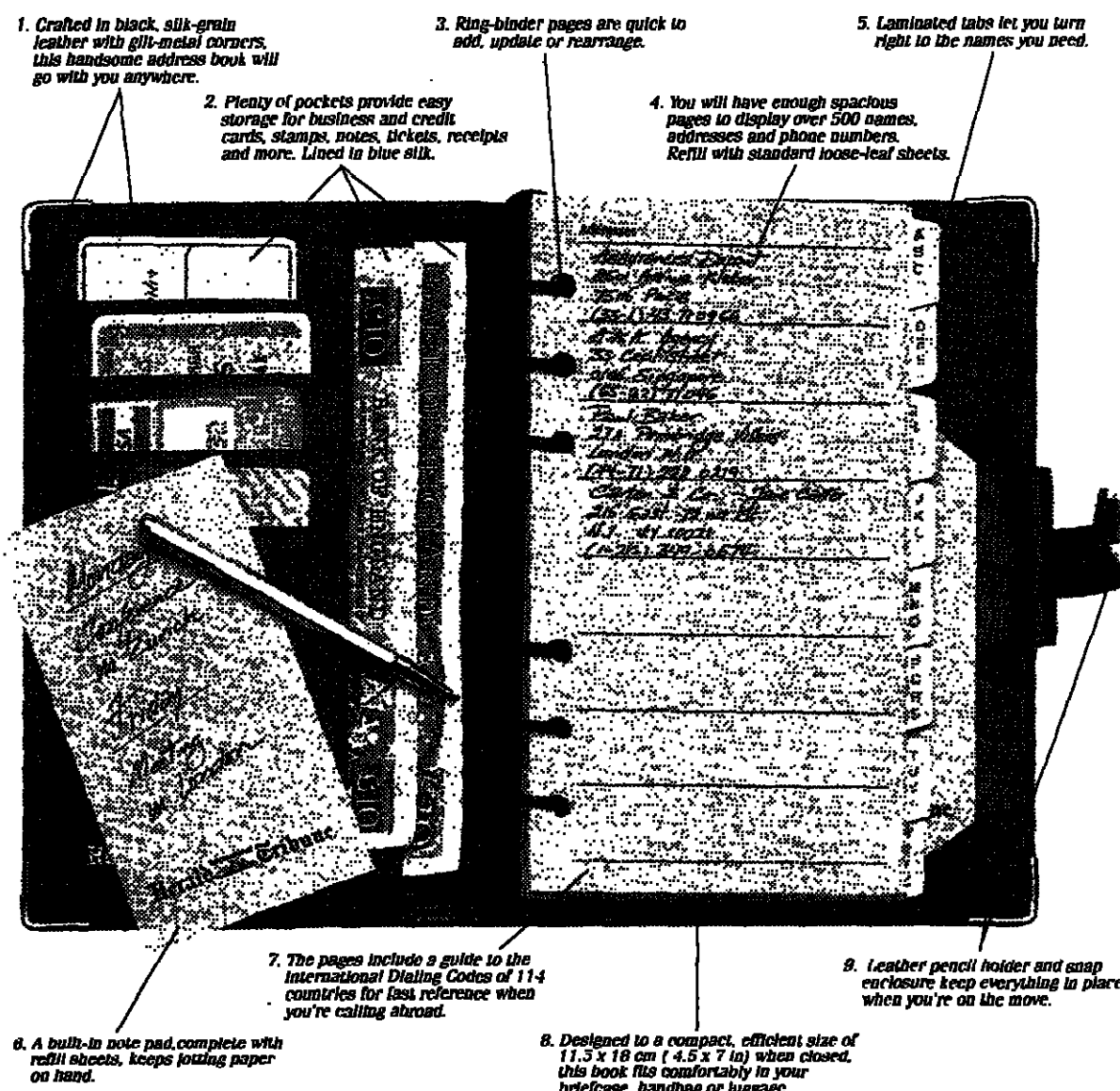


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Herald Tribune
THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

U.S.-Chinese Summit / An Increasing Candor in Beijing

Burying a Taboo, China Gives Figures on Death by Police Torture

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — For the first time, China has published statistics on the number of people who have been tortured to death by the police, in an unusual series of books designed to improve police practices and advance legal reform.

The acknowledgment by the Supreme People's Procuratorate, which published the books, that people have died or been seriously injured in police custody is another sign of China's increasing willingness to take on long-taboo issues that used to be dealt with only in internal reports and secret circulars of the Communist Party.

One book, entitled "The Law Against Extorting a Confession by Torture," said that torture in China was a systemic problem. It included 64 case studies of people who were tortured to death while in police custody, 35 cases of people who were seriously injured while in police custody and many other cases of

people who confessed to crimes that they did not commit in order to stop being tortured.

The unprecedented publication of these case studies and the fledgling attempts of elements within China's criminal justice system to rein in China's formerly all-powerful police and other security services represent just one of many legal developments leading to reform.

They argue that systemic changes in China are more important to the improvement of rights than lobbying over the fate of individual prisoners.

The Clinton administration has adopted legal reform in China as a major plank of U.S.-Chinese relations. President Bill Clinton was to address legal reform and announce a series of initiatives designed to strengthen China's legal system in a speech Monday at Beijing University.

So far the bulk of U.S.-Chinese legal cooperation has been in business-related issues, such as bankruptcy law, contracts, securities law and intellectual property

rights. One of Mr. Clinton's legal initiatives involves human rights: a symposium planned in Washington for this autumn on criminal procedures and the protection of human rights, with Chinese and American lawyers taking part.

"These are issues that are in play with the Chinese, and that creates the opportunity to make our perspective heard," said Paul Gewirtz, the special representative for the rule-of-law initiative. "It is an important new channel with the Chinese."

Many human-rights organizations say they worry, however, that the legal initiatives being backed by the Clinton administration are only a substitute for more vigorous, and potentially ramorous, protests against China's human-rights record.

"U.S. efforts to promote legal reform in China must be designed to foster greater compliance with international human rights law so China's citizens can enjoy their basic freedom and be protected from the injustices that are now

rampant in the criminal justice system," said Michael Posner, the executive director of the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

Amnesty International estimates that 2,000 people are now in prison in China for political crimes. About 230,000 people are believed to be held in labor camps. The police still retain the power to sentence people to three years of labor reform without a trial.

In 1990, the Communist Party lifted an informal ban on research and publication in China about human rights questions. Since then a flood of literature has emerged on the subject.

According to "The Law Against Extorting a Confession by Torture," 126 people were killed by the police during interrogations in 1993, and 115 in 1994, while 64 people were seriously injured during those two years.

The book was published in July 1997 along with two companion volumes on illegal arrests and illegal entry by police into homes and offices. It has not pre-

viously been reported in the West. The book says that between 1990 and 1994, 2,943 serious cases of forced confessions were noted by the procuratorate. In the same period, the books said, 20,791 people were illegally incarcerated.

Murray Scot Tanner, an American legal scholar, said that it was not so much the numbers that mattered but the fact that China was willing to acknowledge such abuses.

"This is a significant move on China's part to deal with torture," he said. "They are doing it very quietly because the issue is so sensitive."

One of the people at the forefront of legal reform is Chen Guangzhong, the chairman of the China Procedural Law Research Society, who himself was jailed without trial in anti-rightist purges in 1957.

"Torture is a serious problem here," Mr. Chen said. "It was part of ancient Chinese culture. It used to be legal during imperial Chinese times. Even in the

recent past it has been a problem. These are not isolated incidents and they continue to happen."

The books were published following the passage in 1996 of an amended version of China's Criminal Procedure Law, which Mr. Chen helped to write. The law outlaws the use of torture to extort a confession. But it is silent on whether forced confessions can be used as evidence in court.

Mr. Chen said the reforms were only a beginning.

"We took a big step in passing the law for the reforms of criminal procedure, but we just can't stop there," he said. "There is a need to make more reforms."

Mr. Chen gave some credit to Western advice and scholars for helping China to reform its legal system.

"Change in part is due to the fact that Chinese are beginning to pay attention to human rights," he said. "But also it does have some relation to studying foreign legal systems."

Jiang Cracks Open Window to Tibet

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — President Jiang Zemin of China has provided the first public glimpse of hope in years over the future of Tibet, holding out the possibility of talks with the Dalai Lama and acknowledging the existence of secret contacts with the Tibetan spiritual leader.

At the end of a wide-ranging public dialogue with President Bill Clinton, Mr. Jiang stopped suddenly on Saturday, apologized for having to "take up an additional five minutes" and then launched into a spontaneous monologue listing his conditions for opening formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama.

Mr. Jiang said that as long as the Tibetan leader, who fled China in 1959 after the Chinese government's crackdown on Tibet, acknowledged that Tibet was an "inalienable" part of China, and that Taiwan was a province of China, "then the door to dialogue and negotiation is open."

Mr. Jiang's demands are not new, but given that he raised the issue without prompting from Mr. Clinton, they represented an important change in the way China has handled Tibet, Western officials said.

The tone differed sharply from recent rhetoric in China, which has vehemently condemned the Dalai Lama as a "split-

ter" and blamed him for the trouble in Tibet. Mr. Jiang did neither of those things. As such, it was significant that Mr. Jiang's remarks were broadcast live in China — and could mark a significant softening of China's line.

"No one expected him to even address it. I just don't know where that came from," said an administration official, adding that he believed that Mr. Jiang had added Taiwan to the equation because the Dalai Lama had recently opened an office there. "It is an unusual olive branch, a scarred olive branch, but an olive branch nonetheless," the official said.

For the last 10 years, China has taken a hard line against any concessions to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan movement. Thus there have been many false starts in efforts to start a dialogue over the future of Tibet, once a feudal Buddhist theocracy located on the "roof of the world," bracketed by the Himalaya and Kunlun Shan mountains. So experts on Tibet cautioned against undue optimism that a thaw in relations was at hand.

But soon after Mr. Jiang made his comments, a senior official in the Tibetan government-in-exile welcomed his remarks.

"I would like to express support for Jiang's willingness to discuss this matter," said Lodi Gyari, the Washington-based representative of the Tibetan government-in-exile, in a telephone inter-

view from Switzerland. "We would like to reciprocate in whatever way we could for forward movement."

Mr. Gyari said the Dalai Lama would like to make a religious pilgrimage to Mount Wutai, a series of five peaks sacred to Buddhists in China's Shanxi province, and to meet Mr. Jiang on the way there. In 1988, China offered the Dalai Lama the opportunity to come to China for the funeral of the Panchen Lama, the second most important Tibetan leader, but he declined.

During the televised debate, Mr. Clinton said he understood Mr. Jiang's demand that the Dalai Lama acknowledge Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. He also encouraged Mr. Jiang to meet the Tibetan leader. "I have spent time with the Dalai Lama. I believe him to be an honest man, and I believe if he had a conversation with President Jiang, they would like each other very much," Mr. Clinton said.

Tibetan officials added that secret talks were already taking place. The officials said the talks were occurring outside China and that Americans were involved in the back-channel exchanges. Senator Dianne Feinstein, Democrat of California, and her husband, Richard Blum, took a letter to Mr. Jiang in September 1997 from the Dalai Lama.

■ **Dalai Lama Calls for Support**

The Dalai Lama was quoted on Sun-



President Jiang Zemin of China speaking at a news conference in Beijing about the possibility of negotiations with the Dalai Lama.

day as saying international pressure was vital to stop what he called escalating Chinese repression in the province, Reuters reported from Madrid.

"Tibet is threatened with extinction," the Dalai Lama, who has lived in exile in India since 1959, said in an interview with El Mundo, the Spanish newspaper. "The repression is turning into cultural genocide. So interna-

tional pressure is of vital importance." But the Dalai Lama was pessimistic about the possibility of reaching a political solution to the autonomy claims of Tibet, saying that politics lacked moral backing.

"The political reality is that no one is going to kick the Chinese out," he said. "The lack of a moral component in politics is very sad."

TAIWAN: Uneasy Clinton Watch

Continued from Page 1

China and the United States. China regards Taiwan as a renegade province and would like the United States to curtail its unofficial relations with Taiwan and arms shipments to the island.

Taiwan officials were enormously reassured when Mr. Clinton and President Jiang Zemin of China concluded their statements and news conference in Beijing without talking about arms sales or raising other matters affecting Taiwan. At a luncheon Saturday attended by several senior Taiwanese officials, there were beaming faces and toasts all around when word came that the news conference had ended without any unpleasant surprises about Taiwan.

"We're relieved so far," David Lee, the deputy foreign minister and head of the interagency task force monitoring the summit meeting, said at the luncheon. "At least from the public information so far, we haven't heard anything alarming."

From an American perspective, Taiwan's anxieties might seem a bit overwrought. The Clinton administration keeps repeating that its Taiwan policies will not change.

"I think it's obvious that there will be no change in our position one way or another on this trip," Mr. Clinton said Friday of relations with Taiwan.

Still, for people in Taiwan, baring their lips as they watch Mr. Clinton gallivanting around the mainland with Mr. Jiang, the assurances of continuing American affections have not removed the heartache.

The perception here is that over the last couple of years the Clinton administration has been distancing itself from Taiwan, narrowing its options, and pressuring it not to cause trouble for Chinese-American relations. All that has been painful for a country whose people brim with enthusiasm for the United States.

"We've been America's star pupil — we've built democracy and freedom just as America wanted," said Huang Chaoyuan, a physics professor who heads an academic organization that organized a demonstration to warn the United States against any agreement with China that would hurt Taiwan. "So why are you prepared to turn your backs on us?"

The underlying challenge for people in Taiwan is simply that China is becoming increasingly powerful in the world, and so China is gaining leverage and Taiwan is losing its own, with nearly all countries now recognizing Beijing over Taipei.

"To be candid, I don't think we have much leverage to prevent Clinton from doing something about Taiwan, because we're so dependent on America," said Parris Chang, the chairman of the defense committee in Parliament. "But we will try to use moral persuasion to shame Clinton so that he does not appease a Communist dictatorship by sacrificing a democratic country like Taiwan."

One reason for apprehension in Taiwan is that when Mr. Clinton met with Mr. Zemin in Washington last fall, the State Department spokesman, James Rubin, described Washington's Taiwan policy in a way that some people in Taiwan felt was more formal and restrictive than before.

The essence of that statement, dubbed the "three no's," in Taiwan, was that the United States does not support Taiwan independence, does not support a two-China policy or a "one China, one Taiwan" policy, and does not support Taiwan's membership in international organizations whose members are sovereign countries.

Taiwan officials are exultant that Mr. Clinton has not included formulation of the "three no's" in his comments in China on this trip.

Giving Critics A Key, Clinton Is Bandleader

By Paul Blustein
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — Ladies and Gentlemen, for the musical highlight of the evening, we have a surprise: Guest conductor William Jefferson Clinton will take the baton to lead the Military Band of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Maybe it was not planned that way, but that was what happened Saturday night at the state dinner in honor of President Clinton's visit to China.

In a remarkable display of leader-to-leader bonhomie, Mr. Clinton and the Chinese president, Jiang Zemin, cajoled each other to take brief turns conducting the military band after dinner as a throng of cabinet ministers and other notables looked on with bemusement.

It was a scene that is bound to be used as ammunition by China-bashers for months to come: The president of the United States, standing in the Great Hall of the People just off Tiananmen Square, making music together with olive-uniformed soldiers from an organization much vilified by Beijing's critics for its brutality during the 1989 protests at Tiananmen Square, its shadowy business operations and its alleged involvement in helping to run prison labor camps.

But this was not a night for dwelling on unpleasantities. Earlier in the day, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jiang had held their debate over human rights at a joint press conference, where they addressed sensitive topics such as Tiananmen and Tibet in a discussion broadcast live on Chinese television.

A state dinner being almost by definition an occasion for emphasizing the warm and fuzzy side of international relations, both leaders used it to that end.

They struck a chummy posture almost immediately upon Mr. Clinton's arrival at the Great Hall. The U.S. president ascended a long, wide staircase carpeted in deep scarlet, holding hands with the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mr. Jiang greeted them at the top of the stairs, smiling and gesturing energetically while talking — evidently in English, since no interpreter was intervening. He and the Clintons posed for photos along with Mr. Jiang's wife, Wang Yingping.

Inside the cavernous banquet hall, Mr. Jiang started the dinner off with a toast, saying "it is nothing strange" that the two countries "should have some differences of views on certain issues," given their disparities in culture, history and economic development. "What is important is that the common interests between the two sides far outweigh their differences," he declared.

In his response, which contained no mention of differences, Mr. Clinton said: "Mr. President, the American people admire the great strides China has taken. Your people are leading lives inconceivable just a generation ago."



A Chinese man holding a petition accusing the police of killing his father. He stood outside a Beijing court that hears lawsuits against local officials.

CHINA: Leaders Differ Over Rights and Policy in Live Broadcast

Continued from Page 1

ing number of calls for political liberalization over the past nine months.

"Jiang is probably the first Chinese leader to engage with an American president in a public way on policy differences, directly in front of the journalists," said Jia Qingguo, a professor of international relations at Beijing University. "It requires great courage and political skill."

Mr. Jiang looked at ease and his words sounded almost spontaneous — a sharp contrast to his first summit meeting with Mr. Clinton, in Washington last October, when he read a series of stock foreign policy formulations.

His effort to project a better image, analysts said, showed the increasing importance Chinese leaders place on television as a means of communication now that its penetration has increased more than fivefold in China in the past 12 years, covering about 90 percent of Chinese households.

Students watching the broadcast at Beijing University ran to tell fellow stu-

dents to join them. One master's student was pulled in to watch.

"I admire Clinton," he said later. "He's honest and open. It doesn't matter which one is right and which one is wrong. We need to listen to them both and make our own decisions."

"Before, we only saw the Chinese government side of it," he added. "What we were told about the U.S. government was what our government wanted to tell us."

American officials, who had sought agreement to broadcast Mr. Clinton's remarks live to the Chinese people sometime during his visit, were surprised by the decision after being rebuffed earlier. The White House national security adviser, Samuel Berger, hailed the televised event as "truly historic" and noted that Mr. Jiang had passed up several opportunities to cut the question-and-answer period short.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao declined to say when the decision was made to broadcast the news conference live. "This illustrates that we adopted an open attitude and would like

people to know the different views of the different sides," he said. "China is more and more open to the outside world."

But some Chinese were cautious about declaring the beginning of a new era. "This is the last time we will be able to see this type of discussion," the Beijing graduate student said. "It was almost like a mistake. They will never broadcast it again."

A Beijing computer company employee said: "I respect Clinton. He wants to debate, which is China's fear. I read foreign magazines and know what they say about June 4. But most Chinese people never see it discussed. Now Chinese people know what Clinton cares about."

"Chinese people should be very happy," he added. "For the first time in nine years it's been mentioned, but too bad it has to be a foreigner that mentions it."

But at the same time, Mr. Clinton was adept at putting America's support for individual liberties in the context of maintaining stability, one of the main anxieties of the Chinese leaders.

Dissidents Are Heartened

But Chinese Press Mutes Clinton's Criticisms

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — Chinese dissidents on Sunday welcomed President Bill Clinton's public criticism of Beijing's rights record and vowed that their fight to win greater freedoms under Communist rule would go on.

"It's very hard to judge if there will be a clear improvement in China's human rights situation after President Clinton's criticisms," said Wang Youcai, an activist in the 1989 Tiananmen Square movement who challenged Communist Party power Thursday by applying to establish an opposition party.

"It's sure that the Chinese people will have more self-confidence after such open support from the international

community, but the outcome depends on ourselves and not on Clinton," he added.

Mr. Clinton and President Jiang Zemin jostled verbally over the freedoms of speech, association and religion on Saturday at a press conference broadcast live to the Chinese people.

On Sunday, in a careful speech at a Beijing church, Mr. Clinton also urged greater religious freedoms. He praised the growth in Christianity in the country.

"I think there is a possible impact on the Chinese government from this visit," said Xu Liangying, a retired Beijing University professor.

"President Jiang has already said that China will sign the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights this year, and I'm optimistic that there can be some improvements," he added.

But those Chinese who missed the live broadcast would find no mention of Mr. Clinton's Tiananmen Square comments or his calls for political freedoms in the country's official newspapers.

All newspapers published the official Xinhua press agency version of events, which cited the two presidents as "stating their respective views on human rights and Tibet in response to reporters' questions."

A rights group said Sunday that all four dissidents who were detained in Xian, the first city on Mr. Clinton's itinerary, had been released as the president was leaving.

But another dissident, Li Xiaolong, was still being held in southern China, while an activist in Shanghai, Zhou Jianhe, was made to leave the city ahead of Mr. Clinton's arrival there Monday, the Information Center of Human Rights and Democratic Movement in China said.

Mr. Zhou was one of six people who last week urged Mr. Clinton to meet with dissidents. But Mr. Clinton has so far refused to do so.

(AFP, AP)

SUMMIT: In a Revised Speech to Students, Clinton to Stress Individual Freedoms as Key to National Stability

Continued from Page 1

little of the denial and defensiveness that he and predecessors have shown on such occasions in the past.

Several times on Saturday he invited Mr. Clinton to respond to his assertions: such moments stretched a planned half-hour appearance at the Great Hall of the People into a 70-minute affair. Later, the surprisingly spontaneous chemistry between the two leaders was again on display at a state dinner in the same imposing building.

Dining on shark's fin in soy sauce and grilled beefsteak, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jiang toasted each other. And both leaders took turns conducting the Military Band of the People's Liberation Army — an image sure to rankle those U.S. critics who assert that Mr. Clinton is cozying too close to a Communist dictatorship.

U.S. officials, who in recent weeks were put repeatedly on the defensive by

a wide array of voices urging a tougher line against Beijing, went quickly on the offensive to trumpet what they called a vindication of their approach.

"The summit today and the press conference which followed I believe demonstrate more graphically than anything we could possibly have said that the premise we have been proceeding along is correct," said the White House national security adviser, Samuel Berger. "I hope that those who are critical of the relationship at home will see that through engagement you can get a lot of serious things done and promote America's values and maybe even advance the process of change in China all at the same time. These are not multiple choice."

Michael Oksenberg, a professor of Chinese politics at Stanford University in California, said that both the rapport between the leaders and the fact that the Chinese public saw the news conference — at which Mr. Clinton bluntly crit-

icized the Tiananmen massacre — was remarkable.

"I think it would be hard for the American public to appreciate how significant this is," he said. "Jiang Zemin has performed a courageous act."

"It's an extraordinary act and it does make this an extraordinary trip."

The fact that the event was aired live in China was even more surprising because for weeks Chinese officials had stalled on this question, indicating to the U.S. team that it was unlikely.

U.S. officials said the summit behavior was a sign that Mr. Jiang, 71, had grown more secure in his leadership in the 16 months since paramount leader Deng Xiaoping died. Since then he has consolidated control of the government, especially in foreign affairs, and he referred repeatedly Saturday to the "partnership" he wants with the United States.

For all the memorable atmosphere, however, the actual summit agreements

hardly clinched Mr. Berger's argument that the U.S.-China relationship is now on a "solid and higher level of cooperation."

In fact, months of painstaking negotiations that ended only hours before the Jiang-Clinton talks produced a mixed bag of disappointments and modest gains.

Mr. Clinton gave the most attention to an agreement that the United States and China no longer target nuclear missiles at each other.

The agreement — in part symbolic, since missiles can be quickly retargeted — indicated a shift in Chinese attitudes. Previously, Beijing had insisted that the United States make a no-first-use pledge on nuclear weapons like the one China extracted from Russia to win a similar denuclearization agreement; this weekend, that demand was dropped.

The United States opposes a no-first-use pledge because Washington is obligated by treaties to protect Japan and its

NATO allies in Europe. Thirteen of China's 18 intercontinental missiles are aimed at the United States, compared with a vastly larger U.S. arsenal.

The United States did not persuade China formally to join the Missile Technology Control Regime, which seeks to curb proliferation of missile capability to smaller nations around the world. But in what administration officials insisted was a hopeful sign, the Chinese did agree to "actively study" whether to join later this year.

Other efforts brought even fewer results.

One administration official said that the effort by the U.S. trade representative, Charlene Barshefsky, to press the Chinese to lower trade barriers — the United States says it has a \$49.7 billion annual trade deficit with China — had been an exercise in futility. The Chinese rejected a slight opening of financial services and telecommunications industries.

EUROPE

Assembly Vote Realigns Northern Irish Parties

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

BELFAST — New alliances have emerged in the aftermath of the election to the Northern Ireland Assembly, with the British province's largest Catholic and Protestant parties turning away from old divisions to unite in support of the fragile peace process.

The vote produced a clear endorsement of the new assembly, the centerpiece of the peace settlement reached April 10. But it also laid bare a strong challenge from within the Protestant movement to one of its key players, David Trimble, head of the Ulster Unionist Party and the presumed speaker of the new body. Many members of his party deserted him and voted for candidates opposed to sharing power with Catholics in the new legislature.

John Hume, leader of the moderate Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party, rushed in Saturday to try to shore up support for Mr. Trimble.

"In this election," he said, "it is quite clear that David Trimble and his party have done very, very well indeed. And when you add up his votes and the SDLP vote and the votes of the parties that are in favor of the agreement, it's very strong and very clear, and therefore the circumstances for working together now are certainly a lot better than they looked, given the noise of the 'no' campaign."

Alban Maginness, another Social Democratic and Labor Party winner and the first Catholic ever to be lord mayor of Belfast, appeared on a television panel with Mr. Trimble and said: "We want to see a new type of politics in Northern Ireland, the politics of cooperation, and I think the Ulster Unionists agree with that type of approach."

With the ballot count from Thursday's election finished, the final totals showed 28 seats for Mr. Trimble's party; 24 for Mr. Hume's; 20 for the anti-agreement Democratic Unionists of the Reverend Ian Paisley; 18 for Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Army's political wing headed by Gerry Adams; 6 for the cross-community Alliance Party; 5 for the U.K. Unionists of Robert McCartney, a Paisley ally; and 7 for other, smaller parties.

In the most critical measure of the new divide that seems to have replaced the sectarian schism in Northern Irish politics, 80 of the winners were supporters of the peace accord and 28 were opponents.

That figure was two shy of the number Mr. Paisley and his followers needed to carry out their threat to block

steps in the assembly called for in the peace accord, though it insured what Mr. Trimble called "a bumpy ride."

The settlement, the product of 26 months of negotiations in Belfast, sets up a number of councils intended to balance opposing desires: the Catholics' wishes to form a closer association with the Republic of Ireland, and the Protestants' to remain part of Britain.

The anti-agreement campaign, led by the firebrand Mr. Paisley and aided by dissidents within Mr. Trimble's party, made significant inroads into his support.

"The people of Northern Ireland have written the ordinary notice of Trimbleism," Mr. Paisley exulted after the vote. "I believe it is the end of his leadership of anything in Northern Ireland."

Mr. Adams, whose party increased its vote total from past elections, said that he "appreciated David Trimble's difficulties" and that he thought the fracturing of the Unionist vote was "regrettable."

Asked about Mr. Trimble's longtime refusal to speak to him, Mr. Adams, who will now become a minister in the new Northern Ireland government, sounded conciliatory. Mr. Trimble, he said, "has a place on this island, and it should be an honorable place and an honored place, and he has to accept that I have to be treated on the basis of equality."

Among the winners were men who once committed acts of sectarian violence but have since become some of the most passionate backers of a negotiated peace. They included Gerry Kelly, the man convicted in an IRA bombing of a London court building that killed one person and wounded 250. There were also the leaders of the Progressive Unionist Party: Billy Hutchinson, a former Protestant paramilitary gunman with two murder convictions; and David Ervine, who spent five years in jail for possession of explosives.

The first meeting of the assembly is to take place Wednesday. The principal order of business will be to select a first minister, most likely Mr. Trimble, and his deputy, probably Mr. Hume.

There will be discussion on whether the assembly should make its permanent home in the neoclassical Stormont Palace. Catholics have long associated the building with Protestant domination of the province.

After the meeting, the assembly adjourns until the fall. Before then it will form groups to bring together ministers from the new Northern Ireland government with their counterparts in the government of Ireland in Dublin.



A woman standing amidst the rubble of her house as equipment moves debris following an earthquake Sunday in Adana in southern Turkey.

Teams Dig for Survivors After Quake Hits Turkey

Reuters

ADANA, Turkey — Rescuers with sniffer dogs, diggers and cutting equipment searched on Sunday for any survivors trapped under rubble after an earthquake struck this southern Turkish city and killed at least 100 people.

Hospitals were struggling to cope with nearly 1,000 casualties in and around Adana after Saturday's quake, measuring 6.3 on the Richter scale.

In the satellite town of Ceyhan, a number of high-rise buildings collapsed.

At one site, workers extricated the body of a woman from the rubble of a block of flats and carried it to a waiting ambulance.

"Since I have been here we have carried out seven dead from this building," said a police officer. "We think there are another 25 inside."

Local residents said the seven-floor building had contained 28 apartments.

Red Crescent, the Turkish aid organization, sent 400 tents, 2,000 blankets and two portable kitchens to Adana, where thousands of people slept on mattresses outdoors on a warm, starry night.

"Walls were demolished, mosques and minarets toppled," said a man at a makeshift camp on a traffic island near the airport where he spent the night with scores of others. "What can we do?"

Some people are here because their homes are damaged, some out of fear."

Many residents, too dazed to sleep, gathered in groups talking quietly and smoking. Some women sat on a roadside and wept.

Electricity was cut in parts of the city, and telephone contact and water supply were sporadic.

Adana is a sprawling city of several million people near the Mediterranean coast. The surrounding plain is a humid, cotton-producing area known in antiquity as Cilicia.

President Suleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz led a number of dignitaries on inspection visits to Adana in the aftermath of the quake. Mr. Demirel promised a rapid return to normality.

The quake struck on Saturday at 5 P.M. local time and was also felt in Cyprus, Syria and Israel, although the casualties and damage were confined to Turkey.

Sweden, Britain, Switzerland, Israel, Italy and France offered the Turkish government help, Anatolian news agency said.

Western diplomats said there was no damage to Adana's Incirlik air base, from where U.S. and British aircraft patrol a no-fly zone over the Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq.

BRIEFLY

Pope Hails Lutheran Pact

VATICAN CITY — Pope John Paul II warmly praised on Sunday a Catholic-Lutheran agreement on some doctrine and said he hoped the progress would encourage efforts aimed at unity.

Last week, the Vatican said that much agreement had been reached with the Lutherans about a joint declaration that would remove most of the condemnations that the two churches leveled at each other when Western Christianity split in the 16th century.

However, the Vatican acknowledged that some differences on fundamental doctrine remain that require further study.

Speaking to tourists in St. Peter's Square, John Paul called the step an "important ecumenical" achievement and said he hoped it could "encourage and reinforce the declared aim that Lutherans and Catholics pursue — the achievement of visible full unity." (AP)

Moscow Bridge Collapses

MOSCOW — A bridge under construction as part of Moscow's circular highway collapsed onto the roadway below and injured 18 workers.

The Itar-Tass news agency said that three of the injured were in serious condition.

The accident occurred late Saturday when the metal frame supporting the bridge buckled after about 700 tons of concrete were poured, according to police officials and news reports.

The bridge was being constructed on a northern section of the Moscow Circular Roadway where it passes over another major artery, the Dmitrovskoye Shosse. (AP)

New U.S. Envoy in Spain

MADRID — The new U.S. ambassador to Spain, Ed Romero, arrived in Madrid on Sunday to fill a position that has been empty for almost a year.

He described Spanish-U.S. relations as "excellent."

He is due to present his credentials to King Juan Carlos on Tuesday.

The New Mexico businessman, 64, said that his ancestor, Bartolome Romero, had left Spain four centuries ago to settle in the Americas.

Mr. Romero, who was sworn in as ambassador to Spain and Andorra for a three-year-term last week, described himself as "a businessman who has always been interested in other things." (AP)

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S M C O T S I S L K

HEALTH/SCIENCE

Fat vs. Fit Debate Divides Medicine

Does Exercise Benefit the Obese?

By Linda Villarosa
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Deborah Gregory, a Manhattan writer who describes herself as in her late 30s, is a big woman. Stylish and attractive, Ms. Gregory is noticed when she walks into a room. She eats a balanced diet, sleeps well and works an hour of exercise into her busy schedule almost every day. She considers herself fit and healthy. But at 5 feet 11 and 227 pounds (1.80 meters and 103 kilograms), Ms. Gregory is also obese, at least as obesity is now defined under new federal guidelines.

The question for Ms. Gregory and others like her is this: Can a person be both fit and fat? The question, which was argued publicly at a forum at the American College of Sports Medicine annual meeting this month, is at the heart of a debate among doctors, fitness experts and other health professionals.

While both sides agree that being overweight — or worse, obese — is associated with many serious health risks, the argument centers on whether the real problem is being fat or being unfit.

Ms. Gregory admits she would like to shed a few pounds and would be delighted if her workout regimen allowed her to do that, but she said, "I've been about this size for the last 14 years, and I never imagine myself being thin."

Hearing of Ms. Gregory, Dr. Claude Bouchard, an obesity researcher at Laval University in Quebec, said it was "marvelous" that she exercised regularly, but stressed that exercise alone was not going to prevent heart disease, cancer or diabetes. To reduce those risks, he said, she must lose weight. "She does a lot of good for herself by exercising," Dr. Bouchard said, "but at this weight, she remains at great risk of having medical difficulties down the road."

Dr. Steven Blair, an epidemiologist with the Cooper Institute for Aerobics Research in Dallas, disagrees. "I am darned confident that her exercise habit is improving her health even if she remains heavy," he said.

To emphasize his point, Dr. Blair cited

his own research, the Aerobics Center Longitudinal Study, which looked at the association of physical fitness to mortality risk in 25,000 overweight and normal weight subjects. "She is better off as she is than if she were lean and unfit," Dr. Blair said. "Healthy bodies come in all shapes and sizes."

The fit vs. fat debate has been renewed in recent weeks with the release of new definitions of overweight and obesity that use body mass index — a measure of weight in relation to height — as a primary measuring tool. The 24-member expert panel convened by the National Heart Lung and Blood Institute lowered the point at which a person is defined as overweight to a body mass index of 25 from 27 and obese to 30 from 35. According to the new standards, with a body mass index of 32, Ms. Gregory is clearly obese.

The revised definition also means that many more Americans are classified as overweight and obese — a total of 97 million — up from 72 million under the former guidelines. And the Surgeon General's 1996 report on physical activity and health estimates that 25 percent of Americans are totally sedentary and another 46 percent are not regularly active.

With these numbers in mind, the American Heart Association this month upgraded obesity to a major risk factor for a heart attack from a contributing risk. A sedentary lifestyle has been listed as a major risk factor since 1992. "It was about time obesity moved from a back-seat position," said Dr. Robert Eckel, vice chairman of the American Heart Association's Nutrition Committee.

Both the heart association and the heart lung institute panel relied on a number of large studies linking obesity to heart disease, stroke, diabetes, gall bladder disease and some cancers. The panel's statement noted that obesity leads to more preventable deaths than all other causes, second only to smoking.

At the fitness camp, Glenn Gaesser, an associate professor of exercise physiology at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, is quick to counter that obesity has been overestimated and



Deborah Gregory works an hour of exercise into each day.

inactivity underestimated as a risk factor for illnesses like heart disease and diabetes and for early death.

"It is possible that some of the people in these studies are in ill health not because they're fat, but because they're unfit?" Mr. Gaesser said. He quoted 1993 data from the Harvard Alumni Study in which a group of men who were initially unfit increased their fitness levels and experienced a 44 percent reduction in risk of early death.

He also cited Dr. Blair's research, which found that heavy but fit men lived longer than thin, sedentary men. "Weight didn't matter, it was fitness level," he said. "If we're going to send a message to the public, it should be to become fitter and not necessarily worry about losing weight."

Dr. JoAnn Manson, an endocrinologist at the Harvard School of Public Health and Harvard Medical School, says that though she is a tremendous proponent of exercise, obesity is a stronger risk factor

than physical inactivity for diabetes, hypertension and postmenopausal breast cancer and endometrial cancer.

"There is strong compelling evidence in random clinical trials that weight loss through reducing caloric intake had a more favorable effect on blood pressure, cholesterol and insulin sensitivity than physical activity without weight loss," Dr. Manson said. "As far as preventing mortality," she added, "if you had to pin me down, later in life — after 65 or 70 — maintaining physical activity may be more important than avoiding weight gain. Earlier in life avoiding obesity may be slightly more important."

Dr. Bouchard said that he thought all this back and forth over fit vs. fat might be moot. "Even if we have five studies saying that if you're fit you alleviate some of the consequences of obesity, the obese people, by and large, are not fit and they don't exercise," he said. "Ninety percent of them will never be active. If they were, they would not be obese in the first place. That's the reality."

In Yellowstone, Wrestling Nature Hands On or Off the Ecosystem?

By William K. Stevens
New York Times Service

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, Wyoming — Perhaps nowhere else in the United States outside Alaska can nature be seen at work so readily, so completely and so authentically as in Yellowstone when the world-famous landscape has just fully awakened from winter and is at its vibrant best.

On a brisk evening in late spring, with clouds enfolding mountains still capped with snow and a setting sun gilding newly green hillsides and meadows, a remarkable drama between predator and prey plays out right by the roadside: A pronghorn antelope, defending her newborn from a coyote, rushes at him fearlessly and repeatedly. Soon she has chased him many yards away, and he gives up.

A bit farther along the road, again within easy sight of it, a black bear steadily and persistently scoops ants from under a fallen log, a casualty of one of Yellowstone's occasional fires, and stuffs them in her mouth while her cub patiently squats on its haunches nearby.

It is a remarkable concentration of activity in a span of 20 minutes or so, but it is a mere hint of the bafflingly complex web of energy transfers — from sun to grass, grass to plant-eater, plant-eater to predator, fire-felled tree to insect and microbe — that define what many experts say is the most complete large ecosystem (since wolves were re-introduced in 1995) in the contiguous 48 states.

But how natural is it, really? And what does it mean to be natural, in this day and age? These questions lie at the heart of a contentious debate over how to manage the park, and, more broadly, over how people should relate to nature.

The debate has crystallized around a policy known here as natural regulation. This is the 30th anniversary of its inception, and natural regulation has grown to encompass a broader reach than in 1968, when it was applied more narrowly to management of the park's famous elk population. Natural regulation means different things to different people. As applied to the elk herds, it means letting the size of the herds fluctuate naturally according to changes in climate, food supply and pressure from predators rather than trying to manage the herds' size by culling elk or propagating them artificially. To some critics of the park's management, natural regulation means a laissez-faire, hands-off policy of letting nature take its course, and they say it is causing much ecological damage.

To the current Yellowstone management, natural regulation means letting nature take its course most of the time, but intervening as necessary to correct problems resulting from human encroachment. "If nature is making all the right decisions, then you let nature make the decisions," said John Varley, the park's chief scientist. But "if there is something dysfunctional caused by humankind, then we need to go in and fix it."

The latter is a succinct statement of the prevailing philosophy among conservation biologists today: Because pervasive human activity is unavoidably altering nature, people have a responsibility to intervene when something they do causes things to go wrong.

THIS is no less true in Yellowstone, many experts believe, even though the park may be, as Mr. Varley says, "as close to authentic nature as we have in the lower 48." Not even magnificent Yellowstone has escaped major effects of human impact. For this reason, and because Yellowstone park is big and is under public management, advocates of natural regulation as defined by the park managers argue that this is one of the best places in the country to test it.

The big argument involves which intervention, and how much, is necessary. The less the better, says Michael Finley, the park superintendent. "It's hands-off; it's hands lightly on the tiller."

Meanwhile the ecosystem, natural or not, churns along. "People come here and they look at Yellowstone, and they go, 'My god, this is paradise,'" said Robert Crabtree, an independent ecologist in the Yellowstone area. "But for those of us here, we can do better as a world ecosystem. We've got problems, but I believe they're solvable."

Viagra Side Effect: New Turmoil for Troubled Marriages

By Jennifer Steinhauser
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — On the surface, the couple from Queens seemed like perfect candidates for Viagra.

They have been married for 30 years, and he began having trouble achieving an erection a few years ago. While unhappy about it, the husband, 59, had learned to see some good in it. "My eye doesn't wander anymore," he said, "because I can't do anything about it."

And though the woman, 53, said she "could not imagine staying in a relationship without sex," she, too, had reconciled herself to having other kinds of intimacy and other forms of sex.

Viagra, the popular new drug for impotence, would appear to be their ticket back to a more conventional sex life. But like many couples contemplating Viagra, the two are starkly divided about whether to try it. While he is looking for a medical panacea for a physical prob-

lem that often comes with age, she has long wondered whether the problem might be better addressed on a therapist's couch than in a doctor's office.

A few months ago, Viagra was being promoted by everyone from urologists to drug company analysts as destined to help solve millions of Americans' sexual problems. The drug flew off pharmacy shelves. But therapists and experts on sexuality are finding that Viagra and other impotence aids may actually throw into chaos relationships that have fallen into their own routine, sexual dysfunction and all.

The most common problem, they say, is that men hope to treat their impotence as a simple mechanical issue, while women tend to want to address the emotions related to impotence. In other cases, a man and woman are forced to confront their divergent views about what it means to have sex and how often they want to have it — issues that impotence had rendered moot.

The result is that many couples are

finding that a solution to what they thought was a medical problem may uncover other issues in the relationship.

"We are in a very high-tech society, and people are used to having things done very quickly," said Eileen Palace, director of the Center for Sexual Health at Tulane University Hospital in New Orleans. "We saw in the 1960s how the pill could control biology. Later, we saw how to control infertility. People want a simple, easy, fast solution. And many physicians assume that just because there is a physical problem means there is no psychological cause."

Urologists interviewed for this article said they had been writing Viagra prescriptions by the dozens, many for patients who had never before said they were impotent. Some had not even confided in their partners. Instead, they simply avoided sex.

"The guy sees himself having trouble, and he, out of embarrassment and lack of communicability, he says, 'I am going to sleep in the other room,'" said

Dr. Walter Bortz, a geriatrics specialist at the Palo Alto Medical Foundation, in California. "The wife thinks he has a girlfriend. And it becomes a gulf that enters a well-cemented relationship, because egos get in the way."

When the possibility of sex resurfaces, a couple is often at a loss. They never talked much about their problems before, and now they have no idea how to approach the change. In the meantime, all the issues that contributed to the impotence or resulted from it have been long swept under the rug.

"When someone hears about Viagra, they are expecting to get better on their sexual problems," said Douglas Whitehead, director of the Association for Male Sexual Dysfunction in New York. "But there are many issues that affect desire: life stresses, the stock market, other issues. But most of the time, people don't talk about those problems."

The woman from Queens said she was frustrated and had given up trying to persuade her husband to address the emotional aspects of their problems in therapy. "His doctor suggested he go into therapy because he couldn't find any medical reason for his borderline erections," she said. "I thought therapy was a great opportunity, but he didn't want to do it."

Therapy is where many couples dealing with impotence belong, even if they use Viagra, many doctors say. The couple may never have discussed the inevitable resentment and pain that resulted from their damaged sex lives,

feelings that will not disappear with medication. Once Viagra allows a couple to have sex again, their relationship can change. For example, Viagra, which must be taken an hour before intercourse, and other drugs for impotence leave little room for spontaneous romantic encounters. What is more, a couple used to not having sex may be out of practice in the language and gestures of sexual intimacy.

DR. Palace recalled a man with diabetes, which often contributes to impotence, who would inject drugs to help achieve erections. "He came in in tears, because his wife's romantic gesture was to lay the syringe on the pillow," she said. "You have to be able to talk about the role of the treatment in the relationship."

Steven and Katherine, who spoke on the condition that their last name not be used, married shortly after testicular cancer left him impotent in 1990. They then found their relationship in trouble when Steven began using penile injections.

"When we would go to the urologist," Katherine said, "they would come up with this or that and address really only my husband and his physical problems. This or that turned out to be injections that produced erections but terrible sex. The injections themselves were disturbing enough, she said, but the underlying problem was her unacknowledged feelings about having married a man who was impotent. Ultimately, she said, she worked

through the problem in sex therapy at Tulane. "Part of what therapy did was help me face the grief that I had never faced being married to a man who was impotent."

Steven agreed that he had not thought through the emotional issues related to their sexual problems. "I thought my primary problem was plumbing," he said. "One thing that amazed me when we finally opened the lines of communication was that my sexual performance was not satisfactory for her. I thought things were fine. But because she loved me anyway, she made a conscious decision to forgo a good sexual life to have a good marriage."

In the end, they have decided to forgo Viagra and explore other avenues of sexual intimacy.

While many therapists and urologists say that most men are loath to discuss their sexual problems with anyone, especially a therapist, the men themselves see Viagra as an easy way out.

Pepper Schwartz, a professor of sociology at the University of Washington in Seattle and author of several books about American sexual habits, cited two things about Viagra that appeal to men: "They don't have to talk about impotence, and they have a high assurance of potential good in using it."

He added: "The issues that have been shrugged off are the psychological and social aspects of it. And I do believe that any drug that alters the core way a couple relates to each other requires discussions of expectations and pressures."

LANGUAGE

A New Moment and Horses Galore

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — "This case is of high moment," wrote Independent Counsel Ken Starr to the Supreme Court, because it involved "fundamental constitutional issues."

"We are fallen upon times," promulgated Pope Leo XIII in an encyclical a century ago, "when a violent and well-nigh daily battle is being fought about matters of highest moment."

"Considerations of high moment call on the American," wrote The Southern Literary Messenger in 1839. "... to extend and disseminate every facility which our country can afford, for the promotion of information. Upon this pillar rests the question of man's capability for self-government."

Heavy stuff. In dealing with the vogueish, momentary popularity of *moments* in this space recently (*senior moments*, *Zen moments*, *Maalox moments*), I neglected the essence of the word expressed in the adjective *momentous*: "of great weight; of major significance."

Moment, in this sense, seems like one of those Janus words with opposite meanings, like *sancion* (penalty; approval) or *sanguine* (bloody; optimistic). How can *moment* be both "fleeting" and "of consequence"? Look to the Latin *momentum*, "movement." When you place a tiny particle on a perfectly balanced scale, you cause it to move; thus, even a tiny weight of an argument, when added to one of the scales in equilibrium, breaks the balance and creates movement, which gains momentum, changes minds and moves the world. That's how a transitory moment can be of high

moment. High, in this phrase, means "significant" — more than in "high official" as much as in "high crimes" or "high dudgeon." Fred Shapiro, co-editor of "Trial and Error: An Oxford Anthology of Legal Stories," tracks the *high moment* back in legal usage to an 1861 opinion condemning a Confederate ship for violating a Union blockade.

At a time when *important* has lost its zip, *significant* is too lightly bandied about and even *consequential* lacks gravamen, it's comforting to see *moment* regaining its moment.

James Carville, the best-selling author and keen debater who is President Bill Clinton's most unwavering loyalist, is writing a book for Simon & Schuster about a group he calls "the president's enemies," foremost among them Starr. He has chosen a tentative title, "... And the Horse You Rode In On," that is intended to strike a note of defiance.

As Thomas Bowdler might expurgate it, "Be off with you and, for emphasis, take with you whatever brought you to this point." As the ellipsis indicates, the obscene beginning of the line is cut. The missing words can be any of a variety of contemptuous imprecations, none of which are suitable for book titles or family newspapers. But because the concluding trope is so widely known — and its origin such a mystery to students of English as a foreign language — the burden of explication falls to the linguistic maven.

The first use in fictional dialogue that I can find is in George V. Higgins's 1972 classic hard-boiled novel, "The Friends of Eddie Coyle."

"I first heard it when I was driving a truck for Coca-Cola," recalls Higgins. "It must have been about the summer of 1960." The late '50s appears to be the time of the phrase's genesis; Michael Seidman, editor of Charles Darden's 1976 "No Bibles, No Drums," another novel using the entire line, remembers the insult he heard growing up in the Bronx in that post-Korean War era: "... and the white horse you rode in on and all your relatives in Brooklyn."

The key word is *in*. "The horse he rode on," without the necessary *in* to conjure the image of a scene, is an ordinary phrase that can be found in use as far back as Shakespeare. But *rode in on* suggests a startling entrance.

A clue to the term's origin is immortalized in the halls of the Treasury Department in Washington. In the background of the oil painting that hangs as the official portrait of Donald Regan, who served as secretary of the Treasury in the Reagan administration, can be found a book titled "And the Horse You Rode In On." No other book title is visible. In their 1987 book, "Showdown at Gucci Gulch," Jeffrey Bimbaum and Alan Murray, then reporters for The Wall Street Journal, note that it was not a real book title but rather a favorite saying of Regan's.

This is an example of a vestigial metaphor. It occurs in such phrases as "my turn in the barrel" or "where were you when, etc." The jokes or anecdotes are deservedly forgotten, but the punch lines, or portions of them, live on. In this case, though the sentiment is not as elegantly expressed as in Churchill's alliterative "in defeat, defiance," the intensifying message stands tall in the linguistic saddle.

New York Times Service

CROSSWORD

ACROSS

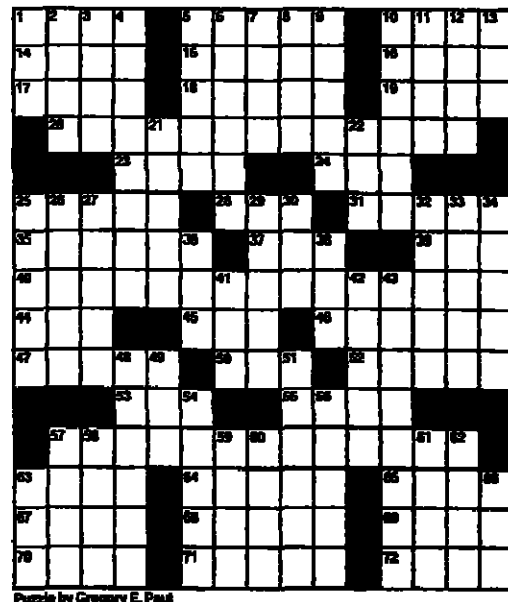
- 1 Polish's partner
- 2 Silent's actress
- 3 Normant
- 10 Disappearing phone feature
- 14 Busy person's list heading
- 15 "The Barber of Seville," e.g.
- 16 Loiding
- 17 Dreadful and
- 18 Hornswoggle
- 19 Butcher's stock
- 20 Short-lived success
- 21 Skull
- 24 Building wing
- 25 Skirt fold
- 26 Second-stringer
- 27 Command to Bower
- 28 Windpipe, e.g.
- 29 Spigot
- 30 Not worth a —
- 40 Backstabber
- 44 G-S, in tennis
- 46 Letter before "cue"
- 47 Forewarns
- 48 Crumble, as support
- 50 Any planet
- 51 Analyze

DOWN

- 2 The usual: Abbr.
- 3 [It's gone]
- 4 False god
- 5 Hiwatha's weapon
- 6 Coffee shop order
- 7 Existed
- 8 The "E" in Q.E.D.
- 9 Carpenter's machine
- 10 Feature of a baby face
- 11 The very notion
- 12 TV's Thicke
- 13 "Me Call You Sweetheart"
- 21 Caterpillar hairs
- 22 North Pole toymaker
- 23 Old hat
- 24 The Titanic, e.g.
- 25 Muse of poetry
- 26 Out-and-out
- 27 Old-fashioned "Phooey!"
- 28 Russian royals
- 29 — Rica
- 30 Impudent girl
- 31 Kennel sound
- 32 Black-eyed
- 41 Prefix with colonial
- 42 Blinding light
- 43 Look like
- 44 Salt, e.g.
- 45 And so on, for short
- 46 Close securely, with "down"
- 47 Rollerblade
- 48 Deep Blue's game
- 49 Switchblade
- 50 Ocean motion
- 51 Footnote abbr.
- 52 Crispin
- 53 Russia's — Mountains
- 54 Beverly Hills, e.g.
- 55 Civil War letters
- 56 Million — March

Solution to Puzzle of June 26

PIS CAVEAN AMP
 ACTSONESAGE TAL
 TALENTSCOUT THU
 SHELL STARES HAM
 ONOFF PIS WERT
 GROPE SUTAR
 ESQUITREMAZINE
 LOUISEDELAARAMEE
 ACADEMICEDEGREES
 JICKES HOLEO
 NEED CPA SOWED
 ERR SHUNTS FIJI
 MFG AERIALMINES
 ARU IRISWURODOO
 YON DINNERS STY



Puzzle by Gregory E. Paul

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INTERNATIONAL

New Effort Is Launched to Develop an AIDS Vaccine — The 'Best Hope'

GENEVA — A new global plan to speed up AIDS vaccine development was launched at the start of the 12th World AIDS conference on Sunday.

The International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, an independent nonprofit scientific organization, released its "scientific blueprint" designed to advance progress in preventative vaccines against the HIV virus, which causes AIDS, and to get them into trials in developing countries where they are needed most.

"Only a vaccine has any chance of ending the global AIDS epidemic," Dr. Seth Berkley, the organization's president, told a news conference. "However," he said, "the world is not on track to meet the goal of a safe and effective AIDS vaccine in the next decade."

"The purpose of this program outlined here is to put vaccine development back on a fast track. This is our best hope of stopping the epidemic that has continued to gallop along with the current 16,000 newly infected persons each day."

The organization plans to identify gaps in

scientific development, provide technical assistance in poorer countries and encourage public and private collaboration in vaccine research.

It is also recommending the creation of up to six international product development teams to identify promising vaccines and get them into trials quickly.

The first large-scale human trials of a vaccine against the HIV virus began in the United States earlier this month, but there are no other drugs in the pipeline that are due to enter phase III, or late-stage, efficacy trials before 2000.

The vaccine, AIDSVAX, developed by the California biotechnology company VanGen, is being tested in several centers in the United States and is also being considered for trials in Thailand, where the virus is spreading fast.

More than 40 potential vaccines are being tested but AIDSVAX is the first to go into human trials.

Third World Would Get Tests Sooner

An ethics panel convened by the United Nations is recommending major changes in the way experimental vaccines are tested in people,

Lawrence K. Altman of The New York Times reported from Geneva.

The recommendation comes in response to impassioned pleas from developing countries desperately seeking a vaccine to fight the AIDS epidemic.

Earlier guidelines, intended to prevent exploitation, called for testing any experimental AIDS vaccine in the country where it was made before testing it in a developing country.

But on Saturday, after a two-day meeting, the panel recommended that such trials be allowed to take place in any country, including those in the Third World, even if not tested first in the manufacturer's country.

The old guidelines were having the unintended effect of impeding possible vaccine trials in many developing countries, said panel members from developing countries such as Zambia, Thailand and Uganda.

"We are asking for more flexibility in the guidelines right now," said Sophia Mukasa Monica, director of an AIDS support organization in Uganda.

Reflecting a widespread view on the panel that American ethical standards should not be imposed on developing countries during an epidemic, Major Rubaramira Ruranga, who works at a research center in Kampala, Uganda, asked rhetorically, "Who should be a guinea pig for whom?"

"What is ethical in one place is not always what is ethical in another," he said, pointing out that 90 percent of the people infected by the AIDS virus every day around the world are in developing countries.

The discussions came at what Dr. Peter Piot, the head of the UN AIDS Program, said was the first international meeting on the ethics of AIDS vaccines. The United Nations has sponsored six regional meetings on the issue during the last two years.

The panel's actions are expected to be largely adopted by the UN AIDS Program and thus by researchers worldwide. They represent a shift from older attitudes of paternalism and protectiveness to greater empowerment by developing countries and a victory over what leaders in

such countries regard as cultural imperialism, Dr. Piot said.

"People in Africa are not as ignorant as they were 10 to 20 years ago, and they know their rights," said Dr. Nkandu Luo, the minister of health for Zambia.

In the past, drug companies and scientists have conducted research on people in the Third World that led to development of drugs that were not made readily available to people in the countries where the research was done. In allowing the first trials of a vaccine to take place in developing countries, the panel said, the host country had to have adequate scientific and administrative ability to avoid harm to volunteers.

To help guard against exploitation, the panel called for requiring informed consent from each individual before that person is enrolled in a vaccine trial. The new recommendation could end a widespread practice of allowing a village chief or local leader to give blanket approval for the participation in vaccine trials of all those living in a village.

Israeli Settlers Unsettled

They Increase Pressure to Limit Pullback

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Service

PSAGOT, West Bank — From his office window in this Jewish settlement, Pinhas Wallerstein has a picture-perfect view of the Palestinian city of Ramallah — sun-splashed, sweltering and, to Mr. Wallerstein, sinister.

"If a man there has a rifle with a telescope on it, he could shoot me even now," he said with a nod toward the urban sprawl framed in the middle distance.

Mr. Wallerstein, head of a national council representing Jewish settlers in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, is a voluble and patient man, well versed in the arts of political persuasion. He meets regularly with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who holds the fate of the settlements in his hands.

These days Mr. Wallerstein devotes all his effort, and his access, to making sure that Palestinian-controlled territory in the West Bank does not come any closer to Jewish settlers than it already is.

As the debate here reaches a boil over an American proposal for Israel to withdraw troops from 13 percent of the West Bank land it occupies and turn it over to at least partial Palestinian control, Jewish settlers have launched an aggressive and expensive lobbying campaign aimed at blocking any pullback.

It is a campaign pitched in the existential terms of a life-or-death struggle. In the settlers' view, an Israeli pullback of such dimensions would not move the Middle East peace process closer to resolution. Rather, it could leave 18 of their communities — and nearly 10,000 Jewish settlers — stranded in a Palestinian sea.

That, they say, would jeopardize not only their electricity and water supply, their phones and access roads, but also their lives and livelihoods in a land many of them regard as granted to the Jews by God.

"How can the Israeli government take it upon themselves to endanger will-

fully Israeli citizens?" asked Yehudit Tayar, spokesman for the settlers' council, indignation rising in her voice. "This is literally about life and death."

To bring home that point, about 30 settlers pitched tents last week across from Mr. Netanyahu's office, insisting that they will keep an open-ended vigil there as the Israeli leader ponders the pullback question.

The settlers' council also is mailing leaflets to virtually every Jewish household in Israel, arguing the case against a pullback. It is planning pickets outside the homes of cabinet ministers who are wavering on the issue and posting sign-waving activists at major intersections around the country.

Every Friday for the last month, the council has taken key party activists from the conservative government coalition on flights over the West Bank, whose patchwork of towns, cities and settlements is home to 160,000 Jewish settlers and about 1.6 million Palestinians.

The aerial tours are designed to convince Israel's power elite of the dire fate awaiting the settlers in any further land transfer.

The pressure tactics, along with open threats from conservative lawmakers to quit the coalition and bring down the government if the withdrawal goes forward, have raised the stakes for Mr. Netanyahu. Although Israel has already committed itself to some sort of pullback under the 1993 Oslo peace accords, Mr. Netanyahu has recently broached the possibility of a referendum on withdrawal.

Many in Israel's peace camp see the protracted discussion of a referendum as nothing more than a delaying tactic by Mr. Netanyahu. From the outset, they say, it has been clear that the peace process would leave the Jewish settlements increasingly isolated.

"There's no question there will be settlements made into enclaves by a redeployment, but this has nothing to do



JERUSALEM TOUR — A Spanish priest explaining archaeological ruins in the Old City on Sunday to Spain's prime minister, Jose Maria Aznar, left, who was to discuss another Madrid peace conference on the Mideast.

with Israel's security," said Galia Golan, an activist in the pro-Oslo Israeli organization Peace Now.

"The battle with the settlers has to come sooner or later, it's true. Anything done now or later is going to endanger them. But that's why the settlements were put where they were put in the first place — near highly populated Palestinian areas — so they couldn't be given back. This was the whole point."

The government has not issued maps that specify which land might be handed over to the Palestinians under an Israeli redeployment of any size. But settlers and other analysts have made educated guesses as to which bits of land are the most likely candidates.

According to the settlers' council, 18 Jewish communities in the West Bank would be at risk if Israel were to pull its

troops out of 8 percent to 10 percent of the West Bank. Most of the settlements likely to be left as enclaves are small communities in the south near Hebron and in the north between Nablus and Jenin. In those areas, the widely scattered Jewish settlements are small and most contain fewer than 100 families.

In one instance, two tiny Jewish settlements — Homesh, with barely 50 families, and Sa-Nur, with just 27 — already sit amid a cluster of much larger Palestinian towns in the north. Any further pullback of Israeli troops would probably leave the land around those settlements under Palestinian civil administration with joint Palestinian and Israeli security patrols. To the settlers, that is a chilling prospect.

Even now, Mr. Wallerstein is so wary of his Palestinian neighbors that when he

drives to Beit El, another Jewish settlement just to the north of his office in Psagot, he goes 25 kilometers (15 miles) out of his way, swinging out on a wide loop to the east, rather than cutting directly through a sliver of Ramallah.

"I'm afraid," he said.

Israel seized the West Bank from Jordan in the 1967 Middle East war. Under the terms of peace accords signed since 1993, Israel has handed back 3 percent of the territory outright to Palestinian control. An additional 24 percent has been turned over to the Palestinian civil authority, with security provided by joint Palestinian and Israeli patrols. The American proposal of a further 13 percent pullback, which has been accepted by the Palestinians, would put 40 percent of the West Bank under full or partial Palestinian control.

No Survivors In Plane of UN Angola Envoy

The Associated Press

MANGROVE SWAMPS NEAR AKOURE, Ivory Coast — Mangled body parts, luggage and personal identity documents were strewn in wreckage of a small chartered plane carrying the UN envoy to Angola that crashed Friday evening.

More than 36 hours after the plane crashed on a piece of dry land surrounded by extensive mangrove swamps some 50 kilometers east of Ivory Coast's commercial capital of Abidjan, pieces of the aircraft continued to smolder in grass and bushes.

A party of soldiers and journalists who hacked through kilometers of mud, water and thick forest reached the crash site Sunday afternoon to find bodies mutilated beyond recognition littered across a 100-meter area along with the smoldering remains of the aircraft.

Six personal identity documents were discovered, including one belonging to United Nations special envoy to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, 59.

The other five documents bore the names of a Senegalese journalist, Moktar Gueye, a Chadian national, Beadgar Dessandou, a Togolese Foreign Ministry official, Koffi Adoyi, and two people of unidentified nationality — Jason McNeill and Ibikunle Williams.

There was no sign of survivors.

There was a discrepancy over the number of people on board — Ivorian officials said either seven or eight, while Togolese officials said seven. One Portuguese national and two South African pilots were reported to be among those on board.

Mr. Beye, a well-respected diplomat from Mali, is credited with leading UN peace efforts in Angola, which has suffered on-again off-again fighting since civil war began after independence from Portugal in 1975.

The plane left Togo's capital of Lome on Friday evening after Mr. Beye met with President Gnassingbe Eyadema in a bid to win support for the Angolan peace process.

The aircraft disappeared east of Abidjan's international airport around 7:00 P.M. on Friday night and search-and-rescue operations were begun.

Mr. Beye mediated the 1994 peace pact signed in Lusaka.



The tailfin of the downed light aircraft on Sunday.

Britain Reportedly Hid Nuclear Mishaps

Reuters

LONDON — Mishaps involving British nuclear weapons during the Cold War were never revealed to the foreign governments — Germany, Cyprus and Malta — on whose territory they occurred, according to a report published Sunday.

The report is based on details from a senior official in the Ministry of Defense, according to its author, Eddie Gonçalves, a campaigner for nuclear disarmament at the independent Center for Nuclear Information.

It focuses on about 20 mishaps that it says occurred in Britain and abroad over the years.

At the Bruggen Royal Air Force station in Germany in 1984, a nuclear bomb dropped off the trailer that was transporting it and bounced twice before ending up side down. Mr. Gonçalves says a 200-page "Top Secret" report by the Defense Ministry shows that X-rays of the bomb revealed extensive damage.

In an incident in 1974 in Germany, the report says, a nuclear bomb dropped off its hoist when it was being loaded into a Buccaneer aircraft. German authorities were never told.

In the same year, according to Mr. Gonçalves, a torpedo was accidentally dropped on a nuclear submarine on a British naval ship anchored off Malta. "Officials believe it is pure luck that the torpedo did not detonate," he said. "If this had happened, a fire could have broken out which would probably have caused the nuclear bomb to contaminate the surrounding sea and land area."

A spokeswoman for the Defense Ministry said she could not comment on the details of the alleged incidents.

But she added: "We would stress that over 40 years there has never been an incident involving a nuclear weapon which has led to, or come anywhere near leading to, the release of radioactive material into the environment."

ITALY: Senior Members of Coalition Warn of Renewed Political Turbulence

Continued from Page 1

"optimistic that a solution will be found over the next 15 days because there are no real alternatives," Mr. Veltroni and other government officials admitted that, until last month, Italy's drive to be admitted to European monetary union was the glue that had held together the country's traditionally quarrelsome political parties.

Mr. Prodi said Friday that "one did not need

a crystal ball to predict that once we had achieved membership in the euro there would be a phase of renewed political tension."

Giovanni Agnelli, honorary chairman of the Fiat group, said this weekend that the new political turbulence suggested that "after the decision on the euro, we are seeing a political free-for-all." He said the NATO vote last week laid bare "a government majority that was conditioned by an extremist fringe." Among the risks for Italy, Mr. Agnelli added, was that

forces into the public sector," said William Kristol, editor of the conservative Weekly Standard.

In the United States, Sidney Blumenthal is the Clinton aide working most closely with the Blair government and with center-left parties in France, Germany, Italy and Brazil.

"We are sharing our experiences on the issues that confront us in all advanced industrial nations," Mr. Blumenthal said, describing the discussions as informal.

In a speech last month at the World Policy Institute, Mr. Blumenthal said: "Many of the criticisms of Blair, from both the left and the right, are exactly similar to those of the president. Blair is accused of spin and waffling, lacking conviction, offering up a blur, just conservatism in disguise. But the emergence of trans-Atlantic, one-nation politics of a new third way makes it increasingly clear that far more than personality is at stake."

political tension would "weaken the credibility and the role of Italy inside Europe."

But political analysts here believe that the challenge of agreeing a new policy program that will satisfy coalition parties ranging from the far-left Communists to centrist Catholics and the more free-market-oriented moderates led by Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini is substantial.

Aggravating the situation is the fact that attempts at electoral reform by Massimo D'Alema, leader of the Democratic Left, the largest party in the governing coalition, were rejected earlier this month by former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who leads the center-right opposition.

Mr. Berlusconi, whose party did well in recent local elections and who is pushing for a snap election, claimed in an interview here that "this government no longer has a real majority and should admit it." He said that when center-left party leaders held their final meeting "they should greet each other and say good-bye."

Mr. Berlusconi contended that Italian membership in the European Economic and Monetary Union did not produce any political dividends for the government "because people here have understood that membership was achieved by way of accounting tricks, tax hikes and a freeze on infrastructure spending, and also because of a political decision by our European partners to admit Italy."

Mr. Veltroni said that political dividends would come "only when European economic integration becomes tangible for people and tended that beyond membership in the single currency, the government had also reduced inflation and created a low interest-rate environment "in which mortgages cost just 5

BRIEFLY

4 Killed as Rockets Strike Afghan Capital

KABUL — Rockets slammed into the Afghan capital, Kabul, on Sunday in one of the deadliest assaults in a year, killing four people and wounding several others, hospital officials and witnesses said.

Throughout the day the rockets rattled the city. In all, a total of 15 rockets landed, witnesses said.

The rockets were fired by opposition soldiers based north of the capital. The opposition, led by an ousted president and a former military chief, vowed to keep up its assault on the capital, and particularly the airport, to prevent Taliban jet fighters from using the airstrip. But within minutes of one rocket attack, two aircraft landed on the undamaged runway.

The Taliban and its opponents have been waging fierce battles on at least three fronts. The anti-Taliban alliance controls about 15 percent of Afghanistan. The remaining 85 percent is ruled by the Taliban religious army, which has imposed its harsh version of Islamic law over the region. (AP)

2 Officers Are Fired Over Luxor Massacre

CAIRO — An Egyptian police court dismissed two senior officers for negligence Sunday in the massacre last year of 62 people in the southern city of Luxor, officials said.

Fifty-eight tourists and four Egyptians were killed in the Nov. 17 attack by Muslim radicals at the Temple of Hatshepsut near Luxor, one of the country's most popular tourist attractions. The attack devastated the tourism industry in Egypt.

After the attack, President Hosni Mubarak publicly blamed the interior minister, who resigned soon after, and ordered an internal police investigation.

In his verdict on Sunday, Judge Imad Ismael said the two officers had failed to work out a proper plan to protect the site and neglected tips by security agents that terrorist attacks were possible. (AP)

Chirac Honors Tutu With a High Award

STELLENBOSCH, South Africa — President Jacques Chirac of France presented one of his nation's highest awards to the retired Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Sunday for his anti-apartheid activities.

Mr. Chirac pinned a silver star with a red ribbon on the Anglican archbishop's lapel, making him a grand officer of the Legion of Honor, France's highest award to nonheads of state. Bishop Tutu, who led protests against apartheid that ended with the first all-race elections in 1994, said the struggle had been inspired by the French Revolution. (AP)

THIRD WAY: Clinton and Blair Seek a New Center-Left Agenda for the World

Continued from Page 1

continent seek to join the free market system."

Mr. Clinton contended that the obligation of government is "to ensure that spirited economic competition among nations never becomes a race to the bottom, in environmental protections, consumer protections or labor standards. We should be leveling up, not leveling down."

Mr. Blair says the current political balance "is an historic opportunity, and we're seizing it. We are taking the historic values of the left — our long commitment to fairness, democracy and freedom — and we are applying them to our new world of dynamic markets."

Writing in the London Independent, Mr. Blair declared: "It is the center-left which holds the intellectual advantage; it is our agenda which will reshape people's lives."

"The right-wing agenda turns out

to be hollow at the core," he wrote. The steady growth in international economic competition — globalization — has posed a three-decade-long dilemma for the Democratic Party in the United States and socialist-social democratic parties in Europe and other parts of the world.

These parties have depended on national high wage, pro-union, welfare spending policies — and in some cases state ownership — to maintain the support of working-class and poor voters. Faced with competition from low-wage countries, the center-left political parties have encountered severe difficulties maintaining widespread support for policies that are seen as costly liabilities in the international struggle for market shares.

"The recent record of socialist, social democratic and labor parties around the world" shows "that none of them are socialist," Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks wrote in "It

Didn't Happen Here: The Failure of Socialism in America."


"Not one of the important left parties advocates widespread public ownership or extensive redistributionist policies involving progressive income taxes and entitlements," they wrote.

The Clinton-Blair "third way" approach claims to balance the inescapable power of competitive markets with policies seeking to provide workers with access to job training, health care and some pension security.

The de facto Clinton-Blair alliance, which the two leaders are conducting at both a personal and staff level, is viewed by some conservatives as simply a response or accommodation to the ideological upheavals initiated by President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

"One of the ironies of history is that left-of-center governments are presiding over the privatizing of Social Security and the introduction of market

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EDITORIALS/OPINION

Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

How to Defuse Kashmir

Until last month, Kashmir seemed just another obscure, intractable ethnic conflict. But now that India and Pakistan have tested nuclear weapons, the dispute has become a matter of urgent concern. Three wars have been fought over Kashmir in 50 years. The United States and other countries can help defuse tensions, but India and Pakistan must make a new attempt to sort out their differences now that these divisions could become the pretext for a nuclear war.

The conflict over Kashmir began with Britain's hasty retreat from empire, which left India and Pakistan to fight over its status. That fight has since become an emotional test of principle and identity. As India's only Muslim state, Jammu and Kashmir, is it officially called, has been torn by an insurrection that has cost 20,000 lives in the last decade and pinned down a major portion of India's armed forces. This month, guerrillas seeking independence for the state have ambushed two wedding parties, leaving more than two dozen people dead, and blown up a train.

India argues that ceding Kashmir would in effect repudiate its efforts to forge a multiethnic state. Pakistan rejects India's possession of Kashmir as illegitimate, a break of history that resulted because the state's Hindu maharajah chose India at the time of independence.

Since the beginning of the dispute, the United States and other outsiders have backed the United Nations' demand for a plebiscite. India rejects that approach, and many Muslims in other parts of the country fear that if Kashmir were somehow lost, they would be subjected to violent retaliation by

Hindus. Most surveys show that the Kashmiris themselves want independence. But Pakistan, which controls a chunk of the state on its own, is no more interested in losing territory to a newly independent country than India is.

In the post-Cold War era, a handful of ethnic conflicts have been eased by negotiations that could provide an example for Kashmir. As proposed by independent experts, the first priority would be to end violence and begin disarming Kashmiri rebels and Indian forces while Pakistan withdraws its support for the insurrection. Kashmir should itself move toward more autonomy, if not outright independence.

Ultimately, some political relationship with both India and Pakistan could be negotiated along the lines of the recent agreement in Northern Ireland. Another essential ingredient would be a pullback by Indian and Pakistani forces on the border, a cease-fire and exchanges of military information between the two countries. They should aim as well for a freeze of any plans to deploy nuclear weapons or test missiles that could be used to deliver them.

These steps would not only assure both countries that they can resolve their differences peacefully. They would also ease the world's fear that a remote but savage ethnic and religious conflict could deteriorate into a nuclear exchange with global consequences. Russia and China have close ties to India and Pakistan respectively, and they can join with the United States in helping to ease tensions. But in the end, it is India and Pakistan that must learn to talk to each other and move toward a more trusting relationship.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Smoking Warhead

VX is one of the deadliest poison gases. A few drops will kill a person in minutes. Spillages from Saddam Hussein's totalitarian regime have been denied. Now, thanks to the courageous and patient work of United Nations inspectors, we know that Saddam Hussein — once again — has been lying. Iraqi armed forces loaded VX gas into missile warheads before the 1991 Gulf War, and then sought to conceal the evidence. With the truth revealed, you might think that the international community would redouble its efforts to defuse this dangerous dictator. You would be wrong.

UN inspectors discovered the evidence in a weapons destruction pit in Tajikistan. Iraqi fragments were sent to a U.S. Army lab for analysis. The lab found "significant amounts" of VX residue. At Iraqi insistence, the fragments are being sent for repeat checks in labs outside the United States, but the UN arms inspection chief, Richard Butler, says he has no doubt the results will be replicated.

How did Ambassador Butler's boss respond to the latest revelation of Iraqi perfidy? "We are dealing with the Iraqis on a large spectrum of issues," UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said, "and I hope this particular development will not destroy the improved relations that have allowed the UN inspection commission to carry out its work." Never mind that Saddam Hussein is cheating and lying and most likely still concealing con-

siderable quantities of this deadly poison: let's not disturb the process that is working so well.

But it must be clear to everyone by now — to Mr. Annan, and to President Bill Clinton as well — that Saddam Hussein will never cooperate with the United Nations. He will pretend to cooperate when he must, and as long as it serves his interest, and in the meantime he will frustrate the UN inspectors as much as he can and retain as much of his nuclear, biological and chemical weapons-making capacity as he can. To talk about improved relations in the face of evidence that relations, on a meaningful level, have not improved at all is simply to ignore reality — which many Security Council members seem most eager to do.

From the Iraqi side, it is worth noting, there has been no comparable diplomatic nicety. We are not only talking here about the Iraqi foreign minister's reference to Martin Indyk, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Middle East affairs, as "a known Jew and Zionist."

We are thinking, too, of the regime's statement after Mr. Butler's latest revelations. After calling for a "clear strategy" to deal with Israel ("the usurpers of the land of Palestine and its holy places" and the "killers of its people"), the regime called for an immediate and unconditional lifting of UN economic sanctions. Otherwise, as it warned last month, the world should be prepared for a "great jihad." At least one side here is talking straight.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Sexual Harassment

With a pair of 7-2 decisions on Friday, the U.S. Supreme Court ended its term on a constructive note by strengthening the law governing sexual harassment in the workplace. The rulings reasonably interpreted Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to hold that an employer can be held liable for sexual misconduct by supervisors, whether or not the employer knew about it. The court also said the employer can be liable whether or not the employee suffered adverse job consequences for refusing a supervisor's unwelcome advances.

The rulings properly recognize that language in the statute defining the term "employer" includes both employers and their "agents." They are also an acknowledgment that sexual harassment causes serious harm even when there is no provable job retaliation or economic loss.

However, the court's balanced approach left room for employers to

mount a successful defense by, for example, showing that employees had "unreasonably failed to take advantage of any preventive or corrective opportunities provided by the employer."

The ruling seems unlikely to have much impact on Paula Jones's sexual harassment suit against President Bill Clinton. Her lawyers hope to be helped by the court's holding that victims who suffer no tangible economic harm may still sue. But in dismissing her case, U.S. Judge Susan Webber Wright found that Mr. Clinton had never made a clear threat, which remains a prerequisite for her claim of harassment.

The new rulings make an earlier sexual harassment decision by the court last week look all the worse. That ruling, applying an analogous statute, effectively deprived students harassed in school of any effective legal remedy. Congress still has the power to correct that mistake, and it should.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Communist Regimes Don't Reform, They Collapse

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Reform communism, whether in Soviet or Chinese garb, exercises a strange fascination on some American intellectuals, journalists and presidents. Out there on the horizon they see a third way, a nonideological path where the Leninist lion lies down with the laissez-faire lamb to order seaweed for lunch.

The defenders of reform communism expect the Leninist gerontocracy in Beijing to stage a lost-or-lease sale soon and peacefully yield to a Chinese-style democracy paid for by increasing trade. Their arguments echo the fervor and conviction of those who once saw Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to overhaul and save Soviet communism as the only peaceful, viable future for that now ex-empire.

President Bill Clinton's predecessor was a founding father of both clagues. George Bush argued in 1989 that America had to support reformers like Mr. Gorbachev and the Chinese party leader Zhao Ziyang. The only problem with his analysis was that Mr. Gorbachev was soon presiding over the destruction of his own country, and Mr. Zhao was ousted and detained by his

more bloodthirsty colleagues during the Tiananmen Square massacre.

Mr. Clinton and his more trade-centered aides have not thought through the ideological implications of their current nine-day escape from Monoclonal into the Middle Kingdom. Mr. Clinton collects aides who know the price of everything and the value of nothing, as Oscar Wilde would say of this bunch. His trip is likely to demonstrate that he has learned every single fact known to man or woman about China, and none of the truth.

He has much company. In the faculty lounges at Harvard and other prestige universities, on the pages of The Washington Post and other quality newspapers, the latest utterances of kindly old Jiang Zemin portraying China as a new humanistic El Dorado are treated with a gee-whiz attention once given to Tito's pronouncements on the coming dominant role of nonalignment in international affairs.

The depth of Mr. Clinton's analysis of the political meaning of his trip is

apparent in his use in Washington this month of the standard State Department phrase specifically designed to avoid calling for democracy in China. America wants a "stable, open and prosperous China," he obediently said.

Since he refuses to meet with Chinese dissidents on his trip, perhaps the only other way to measure his true commitment to getting on the right side of history on this issue is to check whether he deviates from the "stable, open and prosperous" code word slogan no doubt agreed to with the Chinese.

I fear he has been cautioned against saying that America wants to see "a democratic China" in the near future. That would presumably disturb President Jiang's comfort, which seems to be the organizing principle for this trip.

As the dissident Harry Wu has pointed out, Mr. Clinton's use of the code words implicitly expresses a wish for a stable Communist regime that will continue in power. So does the lapdog praise that Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin lavished on China this month as "an island of stability" in economic affairs.

Interesting words those. They repeat almost exactly the formula Jimmy

Carter used to describe the shah of Iran shortly before the shah's ouster. They also echo Francois Mitterrand's history-blind assessment of the East German regime in its final days as an enduring force for stability.

Mr. Clinton is not so much under the influence of the school of reform communism as he is taken with what could be called the Goldman Sachs view of the world. The merchant banking Weltanschauung of the 1990s has been to pay attention to China and the emerging markets, while hammering Japan and Europe to increase profitability for foreign investors and traders by risking social peace and consensus if necessary.

The fast backs are always in El Dorado. Not in advanced capitalist societies. And there is no ideological adjectives. And there is no story angle in venture or new story angle in acknowledging that communism in all its forms is a political dodo bird.

It's more fun to pretend that the decaying, bloodstained gerontocracy in Beijing can stay stable, reform itself and soon lunch with lambs. Why let history be your guide?

The Washington Post

From Now On the Leader in East Asia Is China, Not Japan

By Stephen S. Roach

NEW YORK — Bill Clinton's trip to China should put a new vision of Asia into sharp focus — one that all but formally recognizes that the economic and geopolitical leader of the region is no longer Japan but China.

It is a shift that will have a lasting and profound impact on world financial markets. The shift in power was made especially clear this month, when Washington decided to try to stop the fall of the yen. But the emergence of China and the descent of Japan have been obvious for some time.

It first became apparent to me in February, when I spent a week shuttling between Beijing and Tokyo. In conversations with senior officials, a critical contrast emerged.

Asian financial crisis or not, China was moving ahead on the greatest economic reform and restructuring of this century. Mindful of the risks of this transition, and willing to discuss them frankly, China's senior leaders were nonetheless committed to a market

economy. In their minds, there was no turning back.

By contrast, Japan seemed frozen in place. All the top economic officials would talk about was the political inertia in their country.

The contrast between Japan and China — inertia vs. dynamism — never seemed more dramatic than when the world watched the yen tumble. The currency began to fall sharply after the revelation this month that Japan's economy, the world's second largest, had sunk by a surprisingly sharp annual rate of 5.3 percent in the first quarter of this year.

Devaluation of the currency seemed to be Japan's only way to stimulate an economy that had slipped into recession.

The U.S. Treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, initially gave his approval to this "solution." In congressional testimony on June 11, he implied that there was little the authorities could do to arrest the fall of the yen. With the

United States endorsing such a policy of benign neglect, financial markets took matters into their own hands. And a meltdown of the yen suddenly seemed like a real possibility.

This is where China stepped in and said "no." Fearful that a free fall of the yen would spur another round of currency devaluations elsewhere in Asia, putting more pressure on their economy, Chinese officials made it clear that such a chain of events would be unacceptable. Then they played their trump card, warning that they could be forced to devalue their currency.

China was very careful and deliberate in upping the ante, led by two of its most prominent and evenhanded officials — Xiang Huacheng, the finance minister, and Dai Xianglong, the central bank governor. They did not suggest that the official policy of a stable yuan was about to change, but they voiced concerns about the ultimate implications of an open-

ended depreciation of the yen.

Threatening to devalue was a high-stakes gamble. China had compelling reasons to hold the line on its currency. A devaluation would have caused currencies elsewhere in Asia to tumble. The currency contagion would have spilled over to Latin America and Eastern and Central Europe, possibly causing a full-blown global financial crisis.

But by the middle of this month, when the yen was plunging toward 150 against the dollar, China's leaders and global investors had good reason to fear that the country might not be able to hold its currency stable much longer. At that point, the United States and Japan were forced to step in and start buying yen to bolster its value.

In the end, it was that simple: China flexed, world financial markets responded, and global financial officials acted. China's impact as an international economic power has never been greater.

Pan-Asian leadership is not a

topic that most Chinese officials are comfortable speaking about. In their view, leadership is a by-product of their actions, not a primary objective.

While it is hard to argue with that philosophical point, there is no mistaking the ramifications of the important changes now under way in China.

And a strong Chinese economy is the key to Asia's overcoming its financial crises. Japan, which was once the regional powerhouse, can control its own economic destiny, but only if it takes drastic action now. Asia as a whole, however, will depend less on Japan and more on China as a source of economic stability.

That means China must keep the value of its currency stable and remain steadfast in its commitment to economic reforms. My hunch is that it will.

The writer is the chief economist and director of global economics for Morgan Stanley Dean Witter. He contributed this column to The New York Times.

Civics Lesson for Americans: Go Out and Get Involved

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — Two fresh reports show why reviving civic spirit in America is probably the only cure for rampant public cynicism, and why that is going to be devilishly difficult.

One was a top-down analysis, prepared by a bipartisan group of experienced officials, guided by some of the best scholars in the land. The other was a bottom-up analysis of the views of some 1,400 grassroots folks who engaged each other in serious talk about the condition of the country at some 150 local forums.

The common conclusion: Americans must regain the habit of active citizenship and

take more personal responsibility for what is happening in their communities, states and nation.

The first report came from the National Commission on Civic Renewal, co-chaired by former Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, a Democrat, and William J. Bennett, the former secretary of education and an active Republican. Financed by the Pew Charitable Trusts, it is called "A Nation of Spectators."

The second, the latest in a series of National Issues Forum reports, is called "Governing America: Our Choices, Our Challenge." It was prepared by

John Doble Research Associates, under the auspices of the Kettering Foundation.

The starting point for both reports is stated bluntly in "Governing America": "Despite peace and prosperity, people continue to feel alienated and disaffected." They are dissatisfied with government, especially at the national level, and distrustful of the way power is exercised by those who have it.

Both reports are full of commonsense suggestions about ways in which the major institutions of the country could alleviate these complaints. The

press, the churches, the schools, elected officials at all levels have important roles to play.

What is striking is the common theme that it is only by becoming active participants in civic life — "being players, not spectators," as Senator Nunn put it — that a genuine sense of empowerment and trust is likely to be rekindled.

The Nunn-Bennett report says every American should commit to participating in some local or neighborhood group that has a problem-solving agenda. National organizations serve a valuable function and deserve support, it says, but they are no substitute for religious or civic groups where neighbors come together and act on community needs.

"Citizenship begins with commitment rather than expertise," that report says in a trenchant paragraph. "Citizens do not need special preparation, advanced education or bureaucratic permits to get involved. And once we do, empowerment, optimism and trust are enhanced, the capacity to understand our fellow citizens increases and the public's work gets done in new and unexpected ways."

The report includes enough examples of the thousands of community and religious groups doing exactly that kind of valuable service to make it clear that this is more than a cliché.

Because this form of participation is so vital, both reports strongly endorse the idea that

active citizenship be made a central precept of every youngster's education. "There was broad support to stress the responsibilities as well as the rights of citizenship," the Kettering report says. "Participants especially liked the idea of having high school students do volunteer work at social agencies, but they did not want to make such service mandatory."

The Nunn-Bennett panel split on the issue of requiring such service, but said: "We are impressed with the ways in which well-designed community work carefully linked to classroom reflection can enhance the civic education of students."

Youngsters learn by example, and both reports are candid about the difficulty of jarring millions of adults out of their lethargy and cynicism. Television is a powerful and isolating distraction, absorbing, hour after hour of time that could be far better used. The temptation to blame others — the government, the politicians, the interests — is enormous.

The Kettering report suggests that many people find it almost impossible to imagine being part of an engaged, purposeful citizenry. It quotes a Delaware woman as saying: "Ideally, this choice is wonderful. But it's not practical. How do you convince apathetic people that, if they stop being apathetic, they'll be able to help society and help themselves?"

The Washington Post

Whose Country Will Israel Be?

By Thomas L. Friedman

ZICHRON YAACOV. I'm sitting in the flowering yard of my friend Victor Friedman's house, telling him what an idyllic paradise is his neighborhood in this village overlooking Israel's coastal plain. On the outside, yes, says Victor, but you have no idea of the tension just beneath the surface here between Jews and Jews.

This is a mixed neighborhood of secular and religious, Victor explains. "The religious here wanted to live in a mixed neighborhood. But they decided one day they wanted a synagogue in the neighborhood. First they used a shelter attached to the grocery store. When the neighbors found out, they threatened to boycott the store unless the owner closed the synagogue."

"Then the religious went to the mayor and got some land zoned for a synagogue and some neighbors stopped that. Their motto was: 'Not in my backyard.' This is Israel, and people are blocking synagogues! It's because they're afraid that as soon as you have a synagogue on your street, the Orthodox will soon demand that your street be closed on the Sabbath, and then, for the secular, there goes the neighborhood."

But Orthodox feel just as besieged by the secular, said Victor. Jewish-owned shops in Zichron can't open on Saturdays. But recently a Jewish shopkeeper, every Saturday, "sold" his store to a local Arab and opened for business,

framework that preserves individual rights and keeps centrifugal forces in check.

The spiritual response is to reject the narrow, ultra-Orthodox interpretation of Judaism that dominates Israel today and seek an alternative that bridges religious and secular and embraces modernity.

Yisrael Harel, longtime head of the Jewish settlers' council in the West Bank, has just teamed with the Shalom Hartman Institute, which has been developing a tolerant, pluralistic interpretation of Judaism for Israeli schools.

The settlers have been focused on redeeming the Land of Israel as their vehicle for Jewish renewal. But with the land now being traded away, Mr. Harel says he is trying to take the energy of the settler movement and, along with Hartman, broaden its agenda to include "interpreting Judaism in a more modern, open fashion so that it can reunite all the Jewish people."

The political response is typified by talk about Likud's Dan Meridor, Tel Aviv Mayor Roni Milo and the soon-to-retire army chief of staff, Amnon Shahak, creating a coalition of the Zionist center. The aim is to bring together the moderate religious Jews of Likud with the moderate secularists of Labor to forge a new nationalism — one not dependent, as Likud is now, on the ultra-Orthodox, who don't want a liberal democracy, or, as Labor is now, on Israeli Arabs, who don't want a Jewish democracy here.

The New York Times

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1898: Spain Confident

PARIS — The "Evening Post" says: "Military reasons were evidently not the only ones that led the Government to decide to send a squadron to Spanish waters. The moral effect of Spain was as much kept in view as the material effect. The first effect of the news is seen in Madrid despatches. The bold tone is assumed. 'Let the Yankees come if they dare. That is just what we are longing for. Besides, we shall see European interference at last. The Powers will never allow an American fleet to ravage the coast of a European country.'"

1923: 12-Hour Day

PARIS — [The Herald says in an Editorial:] However desirable it may be to abolish the twelve-hour day, no progress can be made toward its abolition with the present shortage of labor if the steel mills are to be

kept going. The continuous nature of steel-making bars any compromise between a twelve-hour day and an eight-hour day. There must be two shifts or three. And this third shift at present would necessitate the employment in the steel industry of 60,000 more men. Where are these men to come from?

1948: Tito Attacked

PRAGUE — The Cominform attacked Yugoslavia's Communist leaders, including Marshal Tito, as anti-Russian and called for "either a true return to Marxist policy or a change of Communist leaders in Yugoslavia." It was the first break in the Cominform front. Communist leaders of Yugoslavia were disclosed as being nationalists who were trying to discredit Soviet Russia with a propaganda campaign which pictured Russia as having the same imperialist aims as the "bourgeois states."

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MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1998

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Asian Crisis Washes Up On Australia's Shores

Growth Wanes as Regional Demand Slows

By Michael Richardson
International Herald Tribune

SYDNEY — Once thought to be largely immune from Asia's troubles, Australia is now feeling the increasing impact of recession in the region, with some analysts predicting sharply slower growth over the next year in the western Pacific's third-largest economy, after Japan and China.

Nearly 70 percent of Australia's exports go to the Asia-Pacific area, including New Zealand. As demand in the region falls, Australian sales are slowing and the trade deficit is rising.

This is putting further downward pressure on the Australian dollar, just as the central bank is reportedly considering whether to cut the benchmark interest rate, currently at 5 percent, in order to stimulate flagging economic growth. A rate cut could weaken the currency still more.

In its May budget, the government forecast that the economy would expand by 3 percent in the financial year to June 1999, after adjustment for inflation.

But Westpac Banking Corp. said recently that it expected growth to slip to between 2.25 percent and 2.5 percent in the financial year, while some other economists have forecast a figure closer to 1 percent as the Asian crisis bites harder than expected into Australia's exports and economic output.

Analysts said Sunday that reports this week on retail sales and building approvals were likely to show that domestic demand was starting to crumble as Asia's recession widens and exports to Australia's key markets fall.

"The writing is on the wall for an easing in monetary policy, the questions being when and how much," said Annette Beacher, a senior economist at Citibank Ltd.

Building approvals are forecast to have declined 4 percent in May, and retail sales are seen rising just 0.5 percent, after a tepid 0.2 percent gain in April, according to a Bloomberg News

survey. That would be a bad omen. Robust consumer demand is needed to drive the economy in the next year and offset the regional slowdown.

Japan is suffering its deepest recession in more than 25 years. South Korea's economy is shrinking for the first time in almost 20 years, and New Zealand's economy contracted in the first quarter. The three countries bought more than a third of Australia's exports in the year through March 31.

The Australian government's Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics said last week that commodity exports in 1998-99 would fall by 1.2 percent, to 64.5 billion Australian dollars (\$39.07 billion). Items such as coal, wool, wheat and iron ore account for just over half the country's annual exports.

The bureau's executive director, Brian Fisher, said that because of the crisis in Asia, there would be a drop in demand for Australian commodities "almost right across the board" that would be only partly offset by a pick-up in exports to the United States and Europe.

Analysts say that the wool trade is typical of what is happening to many other Australian commodity exports.

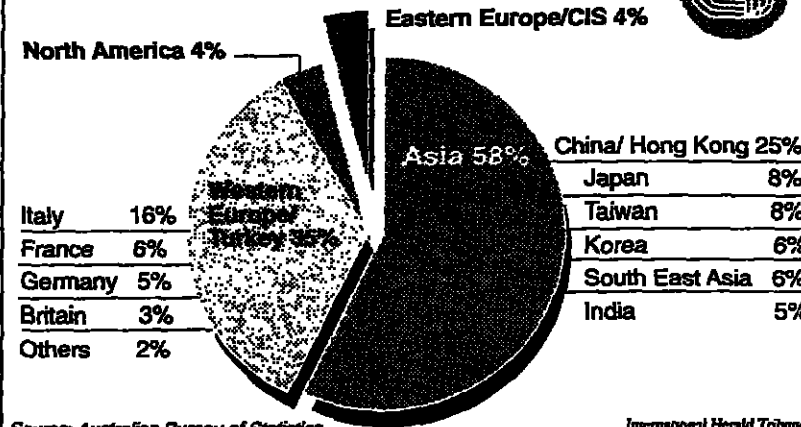
Between July 1997, when East Asian currencies started falling in value, and April 1998, Australian wool sales — worth about 3.1 billion Australian dollars in 1996-97 — plunged 44 percent to South Korea, 25 percent to Japan and 14 percent to China.

"Korea has almost stopped buying wool," said Chris Wilcox, manager of information and trade policy at IWS International Pty. Ltd. in Melbourne. "Mills are struggling to obtain credit to buy raw wool; where they can get credit, wool is much more expensive than last July because of the fall in the Korean won."

South Korea bought 6 percent of Australian wool exports in 1996-97. Japan and Taiwan each bought 8 percent, and China and Hong Kong together pur-



Australia's Raw Wool Exports 1996-97



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

International Herald Tribune

chased 25 percent. Taiwan, China and Hong Kong sell most of their processed wool to Japan.

"Both Taiwan and China have so far come through relatively unscathed by the turmoil elsewhere in Asia," Mr. Wilcox said. "But the downturn in Japan has meant demand in this key export market for both countries has fallen, and in turn brought weaker demand for raw wool."

Declining prices for many commodities may worsen the effects of shrinking sales in Asia, according to some economists.

"For commodity-producing coun-

tries like Australia, lower commodity prices are a negative, compounding the adverse direct trade effects," said Adrian Blundell-Wignall, executive vice president of Bankers Trust Funds Management.

As a result, the Asian crisis could cut about 2 percentage points from Australia's economic growth, he added.

Tourism, Australia's largest export earner, is also in trouble. The number of people making short-term visits to Australia in May fell 1.8 percent from a year earlier, led by a drop in visitors from

See AUSTRALIA, Page 18

5 South Korea Banks Set for Liquidation

Employees Protest Pending Loss of Jobs

By Don Kirk
International Herald Tribune

SEOUL — Five ailing South Korean banks face liquidation Monday for extending dangerously excessive amounts of credit in another government-enforced test of survival of the fittest business organizations.

The impending announcement by the Financial Supervisory Commission, the watchdog agency formed after President Kim Dae Jung's inauguration in February, drew protests Sunday from bank employees in danger of losing their jobs.

More than a thousand workers gathered in the lobby of the Dae Dong Bank in the south central city of Taegu, shouting that the government had no right to interfere in the bank's affairs. "No shutdown," read the words on red headbands and signs carried by the demonstrators in a scene broadcast by the state-owned Korea Broadcasting system.

Workers at the four other banks set for liquidation, the Dongnam, Dongwha, Kyungki and Chung Chong banks, also threatened protests even as authorities entered their banks Sunday night to avert any efforts at thwarting liquidation.

Officials from the relatively healthy banks named to absorb the weak ones worked quickly to make certain that they had control of the victims' computer systems and vaults, according to Yonhap, the quasi-official national

news agency. The acquiring institutions include Shinhan Bank, Kookmin Bank, KorAm Bank and the Housing and Commercial Bank.

The liquidation of the weakest banks, picked from a watch list of a dozen troubled banks, marks another attempt to get rid of debt-ridden institutions in accordance with the conditions of a rescue package of nearly \$60 billion in loans arranged by the International Monetary Fund in December. The Financial Supervisory Commission earlier listed 55 companies that it said were in such bad condition that they were ineligible for more credit.

Mr. Kim personally ordered the commission to expand the list of nonviable companies and was also reported to have urged the commission to act decisively on the banks.

The commission chairman, Lee Hun Jai, reported the decision to Mr. Kim on Saturday.

In a seemingly paradoxical move, however, Mr. Lee, Finance Minister Lee Kyu Sung and the governor of the Bank of Korea, Chon Chol Wan, agreed Sunday on a program for rolling over about \$4 trillion won (about \$60 billion) in debts for small and medium-sized firms.

The finance minister, calling for "economic vitality in the process of restructuring," said the government would also have to invest in big-ticket projects to shore up endangered companies.

Moscow Awaits Turmoil

IMF Urges Resistance to Devaluation Pressure

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Russian leaders braced Sunday for another round of financial-market turmoil as the International Monetary Fund urged the Kremlin to hold fast against pressures to devalue the ruble.

Martin Gilman, the Moscow director of the fund, said Sunday that devaluation would not solve Russia's hemorrhaging budget problem and "could make it worse."

Russia has been borrowing heavily through domestic bonds at high interest rates to cover deficit spending, in part because of a collapse in tax revenues.

"We certainly agree with the analysis of the central bank of Russia that a devaluation of the ruble is neither appropriate nor necessary," Mr. Gilman said. "Unlike some other countries, say in Southeast Asia, Russia does not have a current-account or balance-of-payments problem but a budgetary problem," he added.

The central bank has been fiercely resisting pressure to devalue the ruble, but its foreign currency reserves have been strained. Russia has about \$15 billion in reserves, including about \$5 billion in gold.

The government has asked the IMF for a \$10 billion-to-\$15 billion currency stabilization loan to bolster those reserves.

The prospect of further investor flight from Russia was clearly on the minds of Russian politicians after a 5-percent drop in the main market index on Friday.

Investors have been increasingly jittery as the talks between Russia and the fund on a stabilization package have dragged on without a clear-cut result.

An IMF delegation arrived this weekend for further negotiations on the package, and President Boris Yeltsin canceled plans for a meeting in Kazakhstan, as well as a trip to Ukraine, to remain at home to deal with the economic crisis.

Boris Nemtsov, the deputy prime minister, said Sunday that the mood on the streets was ominously quiet. "You know what it's like before a heavy storm — calm, quiet, a few birds aren't singing as they should be, or perhaps aren't singing at all? This is the situation in Russia today," he said.

Mr. Nemtsov said in a television interview that Parliament should act quickly on the government's latest austerity measures and that nothing less than Russia's future as a sovereign and independent state was at risk.

Mr. Yeltsin has challenged Parliament to act on new tax reform and spending cuts before going on summer recess, but the outlook is unclear.

Rubin Arrives in Malaysia Amid Uproar on Rates

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KUALA LUMPUR — Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, continuing a four-nation tour of Southeast Asia, met with the Malaysian finance minister and central bank governor here Sunday amid controversy about fiscal policy in one of the region's more troubled economies.

Mr. Rubin, accompanied by two Treasury Department officials, spoke with Finance Minister Anwar Ibrahim and Ahmad Mohamad Don, the governor of Bank Negara Malaysia, shortly after arriving from Beijing, Finance Ministry officials said.

Mr. Anwar, who is also deputy prime minister, was to hold a dinner for Mr. Rubin later Sunday with Malaysia's new "special functions" minister, Daim Zainuddin, in attendance. Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad last week appointed Mr. Daim, who was finance minister from 1984 to 1991, to take responsibility for economic development issues.

Mr. Daim recently backed Mr. Mahathir in calling for lower interest rates to ease the burden on troubled Malaysian companies trying to cope with the country's economic downturn. But Mr. Anwar and the central bank want interest rates to stay high to contain inflationary pressures and support the beleaguered currency, the ringgit.

Mr. Rubin was due to travel to Bangkok on Monday and continue on to Seoul on Tuesday in a tour of the region designed to take Asia's economic pulse almost a year after its financial woes began.

Thailand and South Korea are among the hardest-hit of the former Asian tiger economies. Together with Indonesia, they are receiving bail-out funds totaling more than \$120 billion. The bail-out plans are drawn up by the



Mr. Rubin, left, being greeted Sunday in Kuala Lumpur by Mr. Anwar, center, and Mr. Daim.

International Monetary Fund and conditional on harsh economic reform programs.

During his three-day stay in Beijing on the sidelines of President Bill Clinton's state visit, Mr. Rubin received his strongest assurances yet that China will keep its yuan currency stable to help prevent a renewed Asian financial thunderstorm.

Both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Rubin heaped praise on China for resisting the pressure to devalue in the face of financial turmoil, leading Beijing's "statesmanship" and forward-looking economic policies.

"One continues to be impressed by

the vision expressed by their leaders and by the understanding they express of the issues they face," Mr. Rubin said to reporters accompanying him aboard an air force jetliner en route to Malaysia.

The U.S. Treasury chief last visited China nine months ago. Asked to compare his impressions now to what he had heard back then, Mr. Rubin said Beijing's commitment to overhauling its creaking economy and slowly opening it up to the outside world appeared to remain strong.

"They continue to express a determination to move along at a good pace," he said.

Mr. Rubin also said officials from the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve had discussed the possible merger of Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan and Sumitomo Trust & Banking Co. with their Japanese counterparts, but he declined to elaborate on the nature of the discussions.

He noted, however, that investors were expecting a change in the Japanese practice of simply having a healthy institution take over a failing one.

"Obviously, the world's markets are going to be very focused on the way in which this is done," he said. (AFP, Reuters, Bloomberg)

CURRENCY RATES

Cross Rates									
	\$	£	D.M.	F.F.	Yen	¥	¥	¥	¥
Australia	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
Canada	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
France	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
Germany	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
Italy	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
Japan	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
South Korea	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
Switzerland	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
Taiwan	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
Thailand	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
UK	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5
US Dollar	1.00	0.65	1.36	1.63	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5	106.5

CYBERSCAPE

Behind AT&T's TCI Acquisition: The One-Wire Strategy

By Mike Mills
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — So which is it going to be: the thick white coaxial cable coiled up behind your television set? Or the thin plastic phone cord behind your desk?

The two wires that connect into the most American homes are in competition to give local and long-distance phone service, high-speed Internet access and hundreds of channels of video — all on a single monthly bill.

The vision of a "one-wire world" has kept investors, regulators and the industry itself puzzling for years. When Congress passed the broad Telecommunications Act of 1996, changing the country's system of regulation overnight, it envisioned just such a system.

But so far we haven't seen it. Cable TV operators have shunned the phone business. Phone companies have tried and abandoned ways to deliver television over their lines. And only recently has each industry become serious about upgrading its networks for high-speed Internet access.

Last week, AT&T Corp. put the one-wire

idea back in vogue. By announcing it would acquire cable giant Tele-Communications Inc. for \$48 billion in stock and debt, the largest U.S. phone company did the unthinkable. It cast a vote for the cable industry as AT&T's preferred route to offering one-stop shopping for all communications needs.

With that move AT&T is parting ways with its telephone industry brethren.

Once upon a time the single-wire vision was called "fiber to the home." A single strand of high-capacity fiber-optic cable connected to houses and apartments would carry movies, phone calls and data services. But when stringing fiber to more than 100 million homes proved expensive, the industry began looking at ways to soup up the existing connections: phone and cable TV lines.

Each has advantages and drawbacks. Cable TV wires have very high capacity and can be upgraded with comparative ease to carry ultra high-speed Internet service along with the TV shows into homes. But they can't readily send information the other way — out of the house.

Phone lines, on the other hand, are fully two-way, but have very limited "band-

width," as engineers call data capacity. Forcing a movie through them takes great feats of engineering.

Here and there, the industry relies on a third route into the home: the satellite dish. Bell Atlantic is beginning to market the DirecTV pay television service under its brand name. But dishes have drawbacks, too. As designed, they are one-way devices — incoming to the house — requiring use of a phone line for communications out of the house.

The rise of the Internet has given the cable and phone industries a common goal: Each is striving to transform its system into what are in essence huge computer networks that can send voice, data and graphics as efficient electronic "packets" of information, an approach known as Internet Protocol, or IP.

The long-distance telephone company Sprint Corp. recently drew major publicity with a plan to build a coast-to-coast IP network that it promises would carry video, Internet and other services cheaply and reliably.

That service would rely on local phone companies upgrading their networks to carry

the service for "the final mile" into the home. AT&T, however, is betting that upgrading TCI's cable networks for two-way IP communications is preferable to relying on local phone companies to build higher-capacity links into homes.

"We look not to what the cable system is, but to what it can become," said the AT&T president, John Ziegler, who will run AT&T's newly created cable-division company.

It will cost AT&T billions to achieve its goals. TCI's current plan to spend \$1.8 billion to upgrade its networks to two-way Internet services hadn't included telephone services. AT&T estimates it will cost another \$400 to \$500 a customer to bring phone service over cable, in addition to TCI's upgrade costs.

The TCI president, Leo Hindery, said the entire TCI network will be two-way ready by mid-2000, and that adding voice services was only an "incremental" step once the IP network is completed. Telephone service will be ready in 12 to 18 months, he said.

Recent technology articles:
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CAPITAL MARKETS ON MONDAY

Summer of Content: Low Inflation Likely to Buoy Major Bond Markets

Bloomberg News
LONDON — The world's major bond markets are likely to gain in the next three months, as Asia's financial crisis and tame inflation drive long-term yields in the United States and elsewhere below the record lows set in recent weeks.

Asia's shrinking economies, plunging stock markets and slumping currencies are expected to damp economic growth and inflation throughout the world, an ideal scenario for more gains in bonds, investors said.

"The problems in Asia are driving safe-haven demand for bonds, as well as having a global deflationary impact," said Vimal Gop, who manages \$3.5 billion of bonds at Scottish Mutual Portfolio Managers in Glasgow. He's "bullish on bonds for the third quarter."

Recession in Japan, Asia's biggest economy, threatens to smother growth

across the region, and attempts to revive the economy have so far proved ineffective.

That has sent Asian investors, especially Japan's prodigious savers, fleeing to U.S. Treasuries and European financial assets in search of better returns and protection against further currency depreciation.

"Bonds are still the place to be," said Gerd Ramsperger, head of brokerage research at Zuercher Kantonalbank in Zurich.

The attraction of U.S. assets has been apparent for some time: strong growth with minimal inflation. Now that potent combination is gaining ground in Europe, too.

Already, investors who reckoned that the advent of the new European single currency, the euro, would force governments to adopt tighter fiscal and monetary policies have been rewarded for

their faith. European bonds were the second best performers in the second quarter as the average inflation rate in the 11 countries expected to join the euro sank to its lowest ever, at 1.4 percent. That is good for bonds because inflation erodes the value of their fixed interest and principal payments.

Now there are clear signs the second half of the equation — accelerating growth — is taking hold, too.

Ten of the top 11 bond markets in the past three months, in dollar terms, are countries that will establish Europe's common currency in January. The only euro founder not present, Luxembourg, does not have a government bond market.

Among the top performers, Italian, Danish, German, Dutch, Belgian, French, Irish, Spanish, Finnish and Austrian bonds maturing in more than a year

all posted a total return, including interest reinvestment, of 4.4 percent or more.

While most of the profits from the convergence in interest rates among the participants in the monetary union may have already been made, analysts say there is room for more gains. With Germany's benchmark repurchase rate at 3.3 percent, and rates in Spain, Italy, Ireland and elsewhere higher, many analysts expect more cuts to bring short-term rates into line before the end of the year.

In the United States, the 30-year benchmark bond yield fell to 5.57 percent on June 15, its lowest level since regular sales of the securities began in 1977. The yield on the long bond ended last week at 5.64 percent, down 0.8 percentage point for the week.

The U.S. bond market, the world's biggest, handed investors a return of about 2.25 percent in the quarter. Many investors are optimistic about further

gains given the outlook for slower growth and subdued inflation — not to mention the first U.S. budget surplus in almost 30 years.

The situation elsewhere wasn't so cheery for all investors. Bond markets in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Japan all handed losses to U.S. dollar-based investors as their currencies weakened against the U.S. currency during the quarter. Yet in local currency terms, all posted gains amid expectations Asia's economic slowdown will crimp demand for exports to the region, cooling growth and stifling inflation.

U.S. and Japanese Reports Due

Economic reports due this week from the United States and Japan are likely to accelerate the move toward U.S. bonds, Market News reported.

The results of Japan's closely watched business sentiment survey, the

tankan, are due Monday or Tuesday, which may set the tone for the week, traders said.

"There isn't any reason for the tankan to come in particularly strong," said Alan DeRose, a trader with CIBC Openheimer.

On Tuesday and Wednesday the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve Board will meet to set interest-rate policy. The outcome for the committee, "is pretty much a foregone conclusion," Mr. DeRose said, as the market was not expecting a tightening.

The employment report due Thursday for June may also generate some selling pressure for the short term, but was likely to be outweighed over the longer term by safe-haven plays, Mr. DeRose said. He added that the employment figures would be "difficult to read" due to the ongoing United Auto Workers strike against General Motors Corp.

Most Active International Bonds

The 250 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ended June 25. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

Risk Name Cpn Maturity Price Crt Yld

Australian Dollar

236 Australia 5% 11/15/98 108.1300 6.2400

Austrian Schilling

142 Austria 5 01/15/98 101.1000 4.9500

Belgian Franc

208 Belgium zero 09/17/98 99.1706 3.6000

British Pound

174 Australia FRN 7.951 01/22/93 95.0100 8.7300

194 Australia FRN 7.951 01/22/93 95.0100 8.7300

227 Credit Local 6% 05/01/03 97.7500 8.2200

234 Theme Fin 7% 01/01/03 95.0270 12.5500

239 British 6% 01/01/03 95.0270 12.5500

240 County Hotels 6% 01/01/03 95.0270 12.5500

Danish Krone

11 Denmark 7 11/15/97 115.0400 6.0800

23 Denmark 8 03/15/96 119.4400 6.6900

42 Denmark 8 03/15/96 119.4400 6.6900

49 Denmark 9 11/15/96 110.2300 8.1600

51 Denmark 8 05/15/93 114.3000 7.8900

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Most Active International Bonds

The 250 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ended June 25. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

Risk Name Cpn Maturity Price Crt Yld

Australian Dollar

236 Australia 5% 11/15/98 108.1300 6.2400

Austrian Schilling

142 Austria 5 01/15/98 101.1000 4.9500

Belgian Franc

208 Belgium zero 09/17/98 99.1706 3.6000

British Pound

174 Australia FRN 7.951 01/22/93 95.0100 8.7300

194 Australia FRN 7.951 01/22/93 95.0100 8.7300

227 Credit Local 6% 05/01/03 97.7500 8.2200

234 Theme Fin 7% 01/01/03 95.0270 12.5500

239 British 6% 01/01/03 95.0270 12.5500

240 County Hotels 6% 01/01/03 95.0270 12.5500

Danish Krone

11 Denmark 7 11/15/97 115.0400 6.0800

23 Denmark 8 03/15/96 119.4400 6.6900

42 Denmark 8 03/15/96 119.4400 6.6900

49 Denmark 9 11/15/96 110.2300 8.1600

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SHORT COVER

Bertelsmann Expands

MUNICH (Bloomberg) — Bertelsmann AG said Sunday it bought a majority stake in the German publisher Berlin Verlag. The move was the German media and entertainment company's latest bid to expand its publishing business.

Bertelsmann would not comment on the size of the stake its book unit, Bertelsmann Buch AG, would take in the publisher or disclose a purchase price. Berlin Verlag publishes fiction and non-fiction books, including German versions of U.S. bestsellers.

BA Weighs New Order

LONDON (Bloomberg) — British Airways PLC said Sunday it was still negotiating with both Airbus Industrie and Boeing Co. for a 100-plane order valued at \$4 billion after newspapers said the British airline was poised to choose the European plane maker.

It could mark the first time British Airways had bought jets from Airbus, the world's second-biggest jetmaker, and represent a blow to No. 1 Boeing at a time when it is struggling with production backlogs. The order could be announced within the next month, according to reports in The Observer and The Sunday Times in London. Neither cited any named sources.

AT&T and BT in Talks

LONDON (Bloomberg) — British Telecommunications PLC and AT&T Corp., the biggest British and U.S. phone companies, are in "advanced negotiations" to link BT's business networks operation with AT&T, The Sunday Times of London said.

The newspaper, citing no named sources, said BT's Concert business, which services telephone networks of multinational corporations, needs an exclusive U.S. distributor and sees AT&T as a potential partner.

Sweden and the Euro

STOCKHOLM (AFP) — Sweden must sooner or later decide whether or not to join Europe's Economic and Monetary Union, or quit the European Union, the central bank chief, Urban Baeckstrom, said in an interview published Sunday.

"It is regrettable that debates in Sweden do not show more understanding and respect of the fact that 11 countries of the European Union want to launch one of the greatest projects of integration since the war," Mr. Baeckstrom told the Svenska Dagbladet newspaper.

For the Record

Greece will be able to join Europe's Economic and Monetary Union by 2001 provided the government continues to implement its economic policies, the European Central Bank governor, Wim Duisenberg, said. (Reuters)

Barking at Europe's Watchdog for Competition

By Barry James

International Herald Tribune



Karel Van Miert, chief of the European Commission's division that sets policy on competition.

BRUSSELS — For the European Commission's trustbusters, these are trying times.

Last week, a European court overturned a decision by the commission, the European Union's executive agency, to allow the French government to pump aid into the struggling Air France.

Recently, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany angrily attacked the commission's refusal of a proposed merger in the digital television field involving Bertelsmann AG and Kirch Group, both media companies, and Deutsche Telekom AG.

Each case illustrates the problems facing the commission's competition division. Headed by Karel Van Miert, a Belgian Socialist, the division monitors state aid to companies and regions and enforces antitrust rules affecting the European Union as a whole.

Few aspects are as central to the co-

hesion of the Union, yet potentially as divisive, as competition issues. When heads of state accuse the commission of crossing the line, competition policy is often at the root of the rancor.

Nor does the public seem to appreciate its efforts. It received few thank-you's for its role in forcing France to make more World Cup tickets available to foreign soccer supporters.

In creating a common market, the EU's founding fathers wrote competition policy into the Treaty of Rome, and — in a rare concentration of power — made the commission responsible for both monitoring and enforcement.

As in the United States, which adopted the world's first antitrust legislation a century ago, European competition policy was not based solely on concepts of economic efficiency.

The founders reasoned that a concentration of economic power in the hands of

individuals, corporations or governments would be damaging both for democracy and for European integration. In fact, the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community — the embryo of the current EU — was aimed at preventing Europe's basic industries from perpetuating themselves as national cartels.

In dealing with antitrust issues, such as attempts to form monopolies and cartels, the commission has to assess whether community interests are jeopardized, and it can impose fines of up to 10 percent of an offending company's sales.

In assessing state aid, the commission asks the question: Would a reasonable private investor have acted the same way in similar circumstances? And does protecting declining firms and regions in one country push the burden of readjustment — such as job losses and plant closures — onto other countries?

These principles are at the root of the protests in the Air France and German merger cases.

A group of airlines challenged the basis by which the commission authorized the French government to pour 20 billion francs (\$3.33 billion) of taxpayers' money into the capitalization of Air France in 1994.

The aid, which enabled Air France to buy 17 new aircraft, unfairly prejudiced competitors, the rival airlines argued. The commission replied that it built in guarantees that the aid would not allow Air France to expand faster than market growth. The carrier, for example, has had to give up slots at Paris's Orly airport to other airlines, including a British Airways subsidiary.

The European Court of First Instance last week ruled in favor of Air France's rivals. The commission now has to review its entire policy on state aid. Should it stick by its original decision, and return with a better presented argument? Or should it appeal in a higher court?

In Germany, Mr. Kohl, facing the strong possibility of defeat in this fall's general election, has attacked the perceived centralism of Brussels. The attack seems uncharacteristic, coming from one of the main architects of European Union. But Mr. Kohl's stand apparently is considered to be a vote-catcher. He cited the Bertelsmann-Kirch-Telekom affair as a glaring example of unjustified meddling by Brussels in an area of national competence.

The commission argued that the scale of the proposed merger and the certainty that it would exclude competitors qualified it as a community issue, even if it directly affected only one country.

Still, the issue has forced the commission to consider whether its actions conflict with the principle that decisions should be made at the lowest possible level. The German affair also raises the question of whether antitrust enforcement should be left more in the hands of national governments and courts.

The prospect of EU enlargement and the already considerable pressure on the commission also make such a re-examination necessary. The commission has a relatively small staff — about 500 — to deal with an increasing number of cases, a total of 1,338 last year. Some of those cases are very complicated, such as the commission's initial objection last year to the Boeing-McDonnell Douglas merger, or its examination of the proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines.

Officials here warn against the danger of diluting the commission's responsibility for ensuring a level playing field on behalf of all 15 member countries.

It is the largest countries that complain loudest. Mr. Van Miert, who is described as a formidable negotiator, frequently has to face an angry minister demanding to know why he cannot distribute public money as he sees fit. "What if things get rough? "When he shouts, I shout," the commissioner was once quoted as saying.

Business Is Far From Spotlight at China Summit

By Joseph Kahn

New York Times Service

To learn more about the state of relations between the United States and China, look at a few of the things that are not happening during President Bill Clinton's nine-day trip to China.

Although he has an official delegation of 1,000 people, not one represents an American company. Some U.S. companies will sign around \$1.5 billion in contracts during the visit, but Mr. Clinton does not plan to attend that ceremony Monday. The president considered stopping by a new General Motors Corp. auto factory in Shanghai, but decided against it.

The fact that the president's trip focuses on diplomatic strategy, culture and tourism instead of commerce is a sign that business ties have in some ways outgrown the contract-by-contract nurturing required during the 1980s or the early 1990s, when many visiting American dignitaries traveled with planes full of chief executives seeking high-level contacts.

"China is not exactly virgin territory for American business," said Robert Kapp, president of the U.S.-China Business Council. "They are there in force. It is not as though they need the president to let them in on the best kept secret in world trade."

Since the mid-1980s, when Occidental Petroleum Corp., the former American Motors and a handful of other pioneers first planted stakes in China, China investment has gone from adventurous to ordinary. More than half of the Fortune 500 companies have op-

erations there, and smaller companies are also active, down to entrepreneurs whose only business is in China.

In the early part of this decade, many companies set up factories in China to manufacture goods for export or began aggressively marketing their products in China, a spree that shows few signs of letting up despite China's slowing economic growth.

Last year, American companies had two-way trade with China valued at about

long term and are prepared to take their lumps along the way.

Eastman Kodak Co. is a good example. The company struggled for years to distribute its film in China, while many local companies sell lower-grade products and enjoy government protection. But earlier this year, Beijing approved Kodak's longstanding request to buy out three Chinese competitors, to open two factories and to put its bright yellow boxes on store shelves nation-

China is 'not exactly virgin territory for American business,' U.S. companies are already there 'in force.'

\$75 billion. They have invested a cumulative \$36 billion, eight times as much as they had committed when George Bush visited China in 1989, the last American president to make the trip.

Among Asian countries, only Japan has a bigger business relationship with the United States.

Like the broader relationship, the state of commercial ties has long been described in absolutes. Chinese government officials are seen as either friends or foes of business. The Chinese market is called a salvation for some companies and a sinkhole for others.

But after two decades of investing, hyperbole has given way to sober assessments of the pluses and minuses of doing business in what many call the world's most challenging emerging market. Some American companies have been runaway successes; others have proven dismal failures. Most big companies say they are there for the

wide. Kodak has announced plans to invest \$1 billion over the next two years.

"It took us several years to get the deal we wanted. You have to have patience and the willingness to stick it out," said David Swift, president of Kodak's China operation. "But since we got the license, everything has been superb." China has become Kodak's No. 3 worldwide market, behind the United States and Germany and ahead of Japan.

Massive advertising has helped many American brands gain ground in China. Four out of five Chinese consumers surveyed by the Gallup Organization knew Coca-Cola, more than recognized any other foreign brand name.

Profits have followed, though not as reliably as some investors might have hoped.

Figures are hard to track, as many U.S. multinationals decline to break out sales and profits by country. But the

evidence suggests that businesses can operate profitably in China provided they do what they would need to do anywhere else: Develop good business plans, make products people can afford to buy and beat the competition.

One survey conducted by A.T. Kearney, a Chicago-based consulting firm, asked the bosses of 70 multinationals how their ventures in China were performing. They responded that two out of five of their China ventures — many have more than one — were operating in the black.

They said they expected the rest to break even within three years of their start-ups.

Given the huge volume of investments in the mid-1990s, which funded tens of thousands of new ventures along China's eastern coast, some analysts say they are surprised that so many can operate profitably.

"I don't think anyone finds it easy," said Rich Miskewicz, Kearney's managing director for greater China.

For every success story there is at least one bitter memory.

Ameritech Corp., the Chicago-based Baby Bell, sought to get into the business of providing cellular phone service in China, investing \$20 million in a venture there. But last year the company pulled out, citing persistent regulatory obstacles.

Caterpillar Inc., the heavy equipment maker, gave up on a troubled joint venture with a Shanghai company, saying it had badly overestimated the market in China for diesel engines. It remains committed to China however, with several other factories there.

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Company	Price	Change	Volume	High	Low	Open	Close	Net	Div	Yield	EPS	P/E	Market Cap	Shares Out	Float	Insider	Analyst	Rating	Target	Notes
Alcoa	11.12 1/2	+1/4	100	11.12 1/2	11.00	11.00	11.12 1/2	11.12 1/2	1.00	9.00	1.00	11.12	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	
Alcoa	11.12 1/2	+1/4	100	11.12 1/2	11.00	11.00	11.12 1/2	11.12 1/2	1.00	9.00	1.00	11.12	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	
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Alcoa	11.12 1/2	+1/4	100	11.12 1/2	11.00	11.00	11.12 1/2	11.12 1/2	1.00	9.00	1.00	11.12	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	

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NEW YORK, N.Y. (AP) — The
 U.S. Justice Dept. today
 announced it had filed
 criminal charges against
 10 people, including
 7 blacks, in connection
 with the assassination of
 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
 The charges were filed
 in federal court in New
 York City.

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Consolidated prices for all shares
traded during week ended Friday,
June 26

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. This section outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, ensuring that all information is reliable and up-to-date.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the financial aspects of the organization. It provides a detailed breakdown of the budget, including income, expenses, and the resulting surplus or deficit. This section also discusses the various financial risks and how they are managed to ensure the long-term stability of the organization.

3. The third part of the document addresses the operational challenges faced by the organization. It identifies the key areas where improvements are needed and outlines the strategies to address these challenges. This section also discusses the role of the management team in ensuring that the organization is running efficiently and effectively.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the future prospects of the organization. It outlines the various opportunities available and the challenges that must be overcome to achieve the organization's goals. This section also discusses the role of the management team in ensuring that the organization is prepared to face the future.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the role of the management team in ensuring the success of the organization. It outlines the various responsibilities of the management team and the strategies used to ensure that the organization is running smoothly. This section also discusses the importance of communication and collaboration in achieving the organization's goals.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the role of the board of directors in ensuring the success of the organization. It outlines the various responsibilities of the board of directors and the strategies used to ensure that the organization is running smoothly. This section also discusses the importance of communication and collaboration in achieving the organization's goals.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the role of the staff in ensuring the success of the organization. It outlines the various responsibilities of the staff and the strategies used to ensure that the organization is running smoothly. This section also discusses the importance of communication and collaboration in achieving the organization's goals.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the role of the volunteers in ensuring the success of the organization. It outlines the various responsibilities of the volunteers and the strategies used to ensure that the organization is running smoothly. This section also discusses the importance of communication and collaboration in achieving the organization's goals.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the role of the community in ensuring the success of the organization. It outlines the various responsibilities of the community and the strategies used to ensure that the organization is running smoothly. This section also discusses the importance of communication and collaboration in achieving the organization's goals.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the role of the government in ensuring the success of the organization. It outlines the various responsibilities of the government and the strategies used to ensure that the organization is running smoothly. This section also discusses the importance of communication and collaboration in achieving the organization's goals.

Continued on Page 17

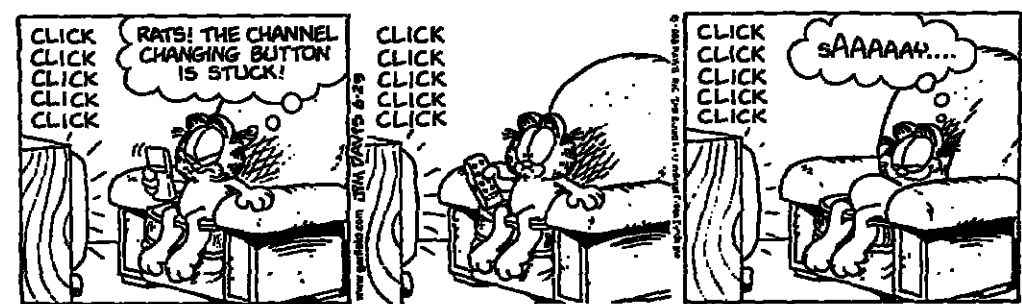
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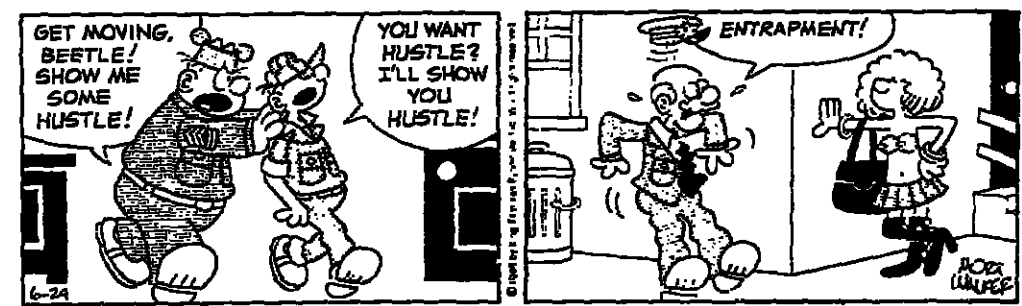
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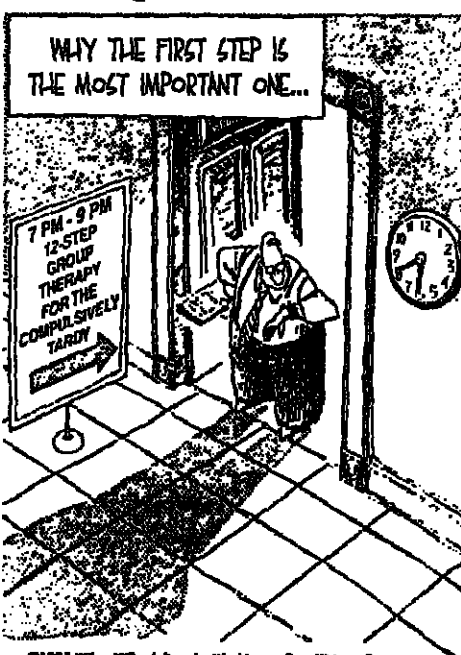
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AUSTRIA S	215	250	15%
BELGIUM LUXEM	BEF 3,380	3,000	12%
DENMARK DKK	740	750	1%
FINLAND Fmk	740	750	1%
FRANCE F	740	750	1%
GERMANY DM	112	210	50%
GREAT BRITAIN £	740	750	1%
HONG KONG HK\$	740	750	1%
INDONESIA Rp	740	750	1%
ITALY Lit	145,000	58,000	60%
JAPAN ¥	172	105	39%
MALAYSIA RM	185	108	40%
NETHERLANDS f	740	750	1%
NORWAY NOK	832	370	55%
SINGAPORE S\$	740	750	1%
SPAIN Ptas	112,000	5,800	57%
SWEDEN SEK	740	650	12%
SWITZERLAND Sfr	100	100	0%
USA \$	72	43	42%

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ص ١ من المجلد

Consolidated prices for all shares
traded during week ended Friday,
June 26

which is one of the world's most complicated pieces of military technology," Mr. Segal said the Chinese have been trying for 20 years to develop and launch a missile technology that has clear evidence of success.

But he added that Russian participation in the project could be "retroactive," the writer for the magazine said. "It is possible that Russian assistance was limited to nonnuclear technology, such as missile design and integration with the propulsion plant."

But I don't know how anyone could be confident that the Russians are not supplying the nuclear assistance, too," Mr. Segal said. "I have shown a willingness to develop on these issues."

Unlike the United States and other countries, Russia has no economic sanctions on India over their nuclear blast.

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Faith in Hong Kong**

HONG KONG — Days*
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the last colony
Patten, said Sunday
remained a free socie
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state-owned
public ad
emotion.
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Unisolated prices for all shares trading during week ended Friday, June 26										
(Continued)										
Stock	Dr	Ys	High	Low	Cl	Dr	Ys	High	Low	Cl
1st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
3rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
4th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
5th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
6th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
7th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
8th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
9th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
10th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
11th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
12th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
13th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
14th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
15th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
16th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
17th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
18th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
19th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
20th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
21st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
22nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
23rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
24th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
25th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
26th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
27th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
28th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
29th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
30th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
31st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
32nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
33rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
34th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
35th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
36th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
37th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
38th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
39th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
40th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
41st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
42nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
43rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
44th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
45th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
46th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
47th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
48th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
49th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
50th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
51st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
52nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
53rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
54th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
55th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
56th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
57th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
58th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
59th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
60th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
61st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
62nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
63rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
64th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
65th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
66th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
67th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
68th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
69th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
70th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
71st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
72nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
73rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
74th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
75th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
76th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
77th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
78th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
79th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
80th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
81st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
82nd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
83rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
84th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
85th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
86th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
87th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
88th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
89th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
90th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
91st Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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93rd Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
94th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
95th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
96th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
97th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
98th Nat Bank of N.Y.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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Continued on Page 18

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1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and the goals that need to be achieved.

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Prestige Class

Internet Services

Cabin Crew Training

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Morning Calm Class

Ground Services

Worldwide Network

Express Club

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Fresh? We grew it ourselves.

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KOREAN AIR BEYOND YOUR IMAGINATION

FLIGHT: A Moment of Pride for Airborne Malaysian Villagers

Continued from Page 1

777s, we build the tallest towers and have a great airport like this. We used to have doubts. Now we know we are capable."

Despite the fact the airport was literally built in their backyards — and that the land that the government bought is now worth 10 times as much as they were paid for it — the villagers' anger seemed all but forgotten.

"We have to compete with our neighboring countries," said Mr. Kuan, the

school teacher. "So, if our infrastructure is bad, foreign investors might not come."

The government took 10 acres away from Tsen Yoon Fatt, 56, who had worked two jobs for most of his life and had bought the land to plant rubber trees.

But Mr. Tsen was not bitter. He spoke about plans to start a seafood restaurant on his remaining land.

Like others on the flight, he said he still strongly supported Malaysia's government, specifically Mahathir bin Mo-

hammad, the prime minister, who spearheaded the airport project.

The economic crisis? "We grew too fast," he said. "Everybody will suffer a bit, and in two to three years things will be back to normal. The economic slowdown is not the fault of the government. It's the fault of the big companies — they invested too fast."

Mr. Tsen has come too far to be overly concerned with the current economic turmoil. He grew up in a wooden shack without electricity in a village where the only work was tapping rubber.

For years the town was surrounded by Communist guerrillas, hiding in the jungles. "If you didn't help them, they would shoot you," he said.

Today, Mr. Tsen has two cars, lives in a brick, two-story house and has given his three sons the good education that he never had. He taught himself English by reading Reader's Digest and he shrugs off what he reads about the crisis in East Asia.

"We're still strong," said the stocky Mr. Tsen of his country. "We have stable politics, we have a lot of rubber, and a lot of palm oil."

Flight MH5407 prepared its scripted descent to the new airport's 4-kilometer-long (2.5-mile-long) runway. Awaiting below were Mr. Mahathir, the country's king, and a few thousand dignitaries.

"As far as I can recall," Mr. Mahathir told the waiting crowd, "there has not been an airport of this size which was built in such a short period at such small cost."

He compared the new airport with the \$20 billion Chek Lap Kok airport in Hong Kong, the world's second-most-expensive, and scheduled to start operations July 6. Kuala Lumpur's airport, Mr. Mahathir said, was "extremely cheap" by comparison.

Inside the plane, the villagers, many of whom had never flown before, admired the constellation of lights on the runway, terminal building and control tower.

The plane touched down and the cab erupted in cheers and applause. "Malaysia boleh!" yelled a passenger. "Malaysia can do it!"

AUSTRALIA: Asia Crisis Clips Growth

Continued from Page 11

South Korea. Arrivals from Northeast Asia fell by 27.5 percent, while those from South Asia tumbled by 19.6 percent, figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics show.

"Despite the decline from Asia, good growth was recorded in visitor arrivals from the U.S. and Britain in May," said Bruce Baird, managing director of the Tourism Council of Australia.

Tourism earned 16 billion Australian dollars in 1997, contributing 7 percent of Australia's gross domestic product. Just how big a hit Australian exports are taking will be revealed on Tuesday when the May trade report is released by the government.

It is expected to show that the country posted its sixth straight merchandise trade deficit last month, of about 745 million Australian dollars, according to a Bloomberg News survey.

Rob Henderson, chief economist at Dresdner Kleinwort Benson, a unit of the Dresdner financial services group of Germany, said that the May deficit could exceed 1 billion dollars. A big number would undermine the dollar "by showing there's more bad news on the current account deficit to come," he added.

The current-account balance — the broadest measure of trade in goods in services — is already a cloud over the economy. The deficit widened to 7.5 billion dollars in the first quarter of 1998, from 5.7 billion dollars in the last

quarter of 1997, and is expected to widen further as exports decline.

John Peters, senior economist at Westpac, said that the bank was projecting a current account deficit of 33.5 billion dollars, equivalent to 6.2 percent of GDP, in calendar 1998 — up from 18 billion dollars, or 3.5 percent of GDP, in 1997.

This is likely to put further downward pressure on the value of the Australian dollar, which was worth 60.65 U.S. cents at the close of trading on Friday in Sydney — more than 20 percent less than a year ago.

The European credit rating agency Fitch IBCA said recently that it had placed Australia's AA long-term foreign currency rating on watch for a possible downgrade because of exposure to the Asian crisis.

The agency said that "in view of the deteriorating regional economic environment, Australia's AA rating sits uneasily with the country's high external debt levels," which are much higher than those of some other similarly rated nations, such as Canada.

Australia's net external debt in March amounted to 224.5 billion Australian dollars, equivalent to nearly 42 percent of GDP. As the currency weakens, the cost of repaying the debt rises.

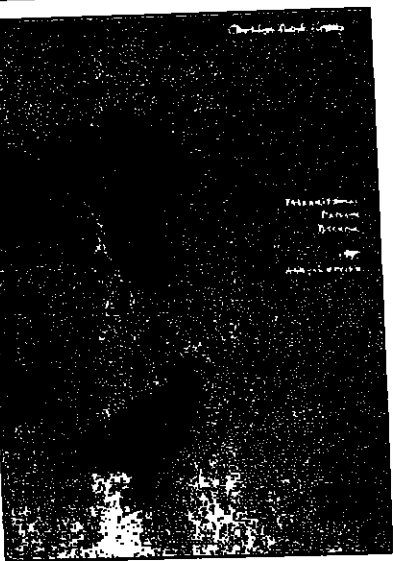
This, coupled with falling commodity prices and the fact that more than 60 percent of Australia's exports go to Asia, "exposes Australia to adverse shifts in investor sentiment and the threat of contagion," Fitch IBCA said.

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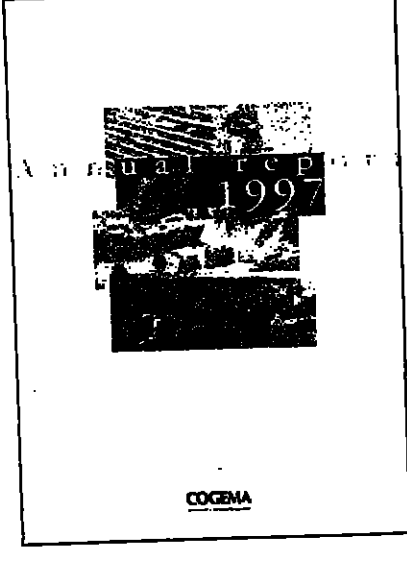
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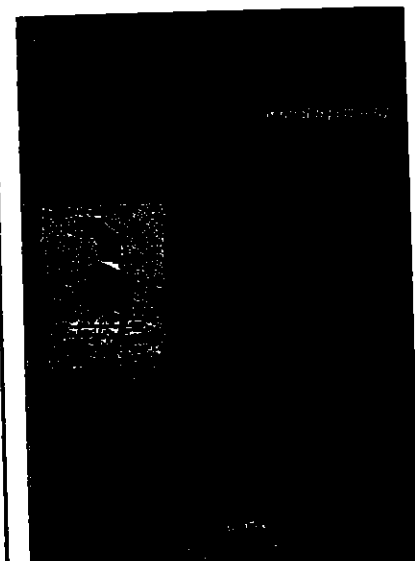
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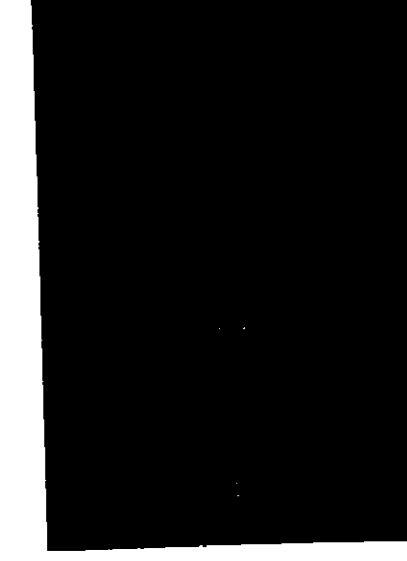
DEXIA

DEXIA, the European banking group created by the merger of Crédit local de France and Crédit Commercial de Belgique, reported total assets of FF 1,221 billion as at the end of 1997. Europe's leading financier of public service facilities and local authorities, DEXIA is also active in commercial banking and asset management. DEXIA is widely represented across the European Union, has an agency in New York, and is active in many other parts of the world.

— Total assets: FF 1,221 billion (185 million euros)

— Net income: FF 3.6 billion (0.5 billion euros)

— Total shareholders equity: FF 39.7 billion (6.0 billion euros)



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NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET

(Continued)

(Continued)									
Symbol	Price	Change	Volume	Open	High	Low	Close	Symbol	Price
AA	10.12	0.01	1,234,567	10.11	10.13	10.10	10.12	AA	10.12
AB	15.45	0.02	987,654	15.43	15.47	15.41	15.45	AB	15.45
AC	20.78	0.05	543,210	20.73	20.83	20.68	20.78	AC	20.78
AD	30.12	0.10	321,098	30.02	30.22	29.92	30.12	AD	30.12
AE	40.56	0.15	210,987	40.41	40.71	40.31	40.56	AE	40.56
AF	50.90	0.20	109,876	50.70	51.10	50.50	50.90	AF	50.90
AG	60.34	0.25	98,765	60.09	60.59	59.89	60.34	AG	60.34
AH	70.78	0.30	87,654	70.48	71.08	70.18	70.78	AH	70.78
AI	80.22	0.35	76,543	80.02	80.52	79.72	80.22	AI	80.22
AJ	90.66	0.40	65,432	90.46	90.96	89.66	90.66	AJ	90.66
AK	100.10	0.45	54,321	99.65	100.55	98.95	100.10	AK	100.10
AL	110.54	0.50	43,210	109.99	111.09	109.29	110.54	AL	110.54
AM	120.98	0.55	32,109	120.33	121.63	119.63	120.98	AM	120.98
AN	130.42	0.60	21,098	129.77	131.07	128.97	130.42	AN	130.42
AO	140.86	0.65	10,987	139.99	141.39	138.99	140.86	AO	140.86
AP	150.30	0.70	9,876	149.50	151.00	148.50	150.30	AP	150.30
AQ	160.74	0.75	8,765	159.85	161.35	158.85	160.74	AQ	160.74
AR	170.18	0.80	7,654	169.29	171.09	168.29	170.18	AR	170.18
AS	180.62	0.85	6,543	179.64	181.54	178.64	180.62	AS	180.62
AT	190.06	0.90	5,432	188.99	191.09	187.99	190.06	AT	190.06
AU	200.50	0.95	4,321	199.34	201.54	198.34	200.50	AU	200.50
AV	210.94	1.00	3,210	208.69	211.09	207.69	210.94	AV	210.94
AW	220.38	1.05	2,109	217.99	220.59	216.99	220.38	AW	220.38
AX	230.82	1.10	1,098	227.24	230.04	225.24	230.82	AX	230.82
AY	240.26	1.15	987	236.49	239.39	233.49	240.26	AY	240.26
AZ	250.70	1.20	876	245.74	248.74	242.74	250.70	AZ	250.70
BA	260.14	1.25	765	254.99	258.09	252.99	260.14	BA	260.14
BB	270.58	1.30	654	264.19	267.39	262.19	270.58	BB	270.58
BC	280.02	1.35	543	273.44	276.64	268.44	280.02	BC	280.02
BD	290.46	1.40	432	282.69	285.89	277.69	290.46	BD	290.46
BE	300.90	1.45	321	291.94	295.14	286.94	300.90	BE	300.90
BF	310.34	1.50	210	301.19	304.39	296.19	310.34	BF	310.34
BG	320.78	1.55	109	310.44	313.64	305.44	320.78	BG	320.78
BH	330.22	1.60	98	319.69	322.89	314.69	330.22	BH	330.22
BI	340.66	1.65	87	328.94	332.14	323.94	340.66	BI	340.66
BJ	350.10	1.70	76	338.19	341.39	333.19	350.10	BJ	350.10
BK	360.54	1.75	65	347.44	350.64	342.44	360.54	BK	360.54
BL	370.98	1.80	54	356.69	359.89	351.69	370.98	BL	370.98
BM	380.42	1.85	43	365.94	369.14	360.94	380.42	BM	380.42
BN	390.86	1.90	32	375.19	378.39	370.19	390.86	BN	390.86
BO	400.30	1.95	21	384.44	387.64	379.44	400.30	BO	400.30
BP	410.74	2.00	10	393.69	396.89	388.69	410.74	BP	410.74
BQ	420.18	2.05	9	402.94	406.14	397.94	420.18	BQ	420.18
BR	430.62	2.10	8	412.19	415.39	407.19	430.62	BR	430.62
BS	440.06	2.15	7	421.44	424.64	416.44	440.06	BS	440.06
BT	450.50	2.20	6	430.69	433.89	425.69	450.50	BT	450.50
BU	460.94	2.25	5	439.94	443.14	434.94	460.94	BU	460.94
BV	470.38	2.30	4	449.19	452.39	444.19	470.38	BV	470.38
BW	480.82	2.35	3	458.44	461.64	453.44	480.82	BW	480.82
BX	490.26	2.40	2	467.69	470.89	462.69	490.26	BX	490.26
BY	500.70	2.45	1	476.94	480.14	471.94	500.70	BY	500.70
BZ	510.14	2.50	0	486.19	489.39	481.19	510.14	BZ	510.14
CA	520.58	2.55	0	495.44	498.64	487.44	520.58	CA	520.58
CB	530.02	2.60	0	504.69	507.89	496.69	530.02	CB	530.02
CC	540.46	2.65	0	513.94	517.14	505.94	540.46	CC	540.46
CD	550.90	2.70	0	523.19	526.39	515.19	550.90	CD	550.90
CE	560.34	2.75	0	532.44	535.64	524.44	560.34	CE	560.34
CF	570.78	2.80	0	541.69	544.89	533.69	570.78	CF	570.78
CG	580.22	2.85	0	550.94	554.14	542.94	580.22	CG	580.22
CH	590.66	2.90	0	560.19	563.39	552.19	590.66	CH	590.66
CI	600.10	2.95	0	569.44	572.64	561.44	600.10	CI	600.10
CJ	610.54	3.00	0	578.69	581.89	570.69	610.54	CJ	610.54
CK	620.98	3.05	0	587.94	591.14	579.94	620.98	CK	620.98
CL	630.42	3.10	0	597.19	600.39	589.19	630.42	CL	630.42
CM	640.86	3.15	0	606.44	609.64	598.44	640.86	CM	640.86
CN	650.30	3.20	0	615.69	618.89	607.69	650.30	CN	650.30
CO	660.74	3.25	0	624.94	628.14	616.94	660.74	CO	660.74
CP	670.18	3.30	0	634.19	637.39	626.19	670.18	CP	670.18
CQ	680.62	3.35	0	643.44	646.64	635.44	680.62	CQ	680.62
CR	690.06	3.40	0	652.69	655.89	644.69	690.06	CR	690.06
CS	700.50	3.45	0	661.94	665.14	653.94	700.50	CS	700.50
CT	710.94	3.50	0	671.19	674.39	663.19	710.94	CT	710.94
CU	720.38	3.55	0	680.44	683.64	672.44	720.38	CU	720.38
CV	730.82	3.60	0	689.69	692.89	681.69	730.82	CV	730.82
CW	740.26	3.65	0	698.94	702.14	690.94	740.26	CW	740.26
CX	750.70	3.70	0	708.19	711.39	700.19	750.70	CX	750.70
CY	760.14	3.75	0	717.44	720.64	709.44	760.14	CY	760.14
CZ	770.58	3.80	0	726.69	729.89	718.69	770.58	CZ	770.58
DA	780.02	3.85	0	735.94	739.14	727.94	780.02	DA	780.02
DB	790.46	3.90	0	745.19	748.39	737.19	790.46	DB	790.46
DC	800.90	3.95	0	754.44	757.64	746.44	800.90	DC	800.90
DD	810.34	4.00	0	763.69	766.89	755.69	810.34	DD	810.34
DE	820.78	4.05	0	772.94	776.14	764.94	820.78	DE	820.78
DF	830.22	4.10	0	782.19	785.39	774.19	830.22	DF	830.22
DG	840.66	4.15	0	791.44	794.64	783.44	840.66	DG	840.66
DH	850.10	4.20	0	800.69	803.89	792.69	850.10	DH	850.10
DI	860.54	4.25	0	809.94	813.14	801.94	860.54	DI	860.54
DJ	870.98	4.30	0	819.19	822.39	811.19	870.98	DJ	870.98
DK	880.42	4.35	0	828.44	831.64	820.44	880.42	DK	880.42
DL	890.86	4.40	0	837.69	840.89	829.69	890.86	DL	890.86
DM	900.30	4.45	0	846.94	850.14	838.94	900.30	DM	900.30
DN	910.74	4.50	0	856.19	859.39	848.19	910.74	DN	910.74
DO	920.18	4.55	0	865.44	868.64	857.44	920.18	DO	920.18
DP	930.62	4.60	0	874.69	877.89	866.69	930.62	DP	930.62
DQ	940.06	4.65	0	883.94	887.14	875.94	940.06	DQ	940.06
DR	950.50	4.70	0	893.19	896.39	885.19	950.50	DR	950.50
DS	960.94	4.75	0	902.44	905.64	894.44	960.94	DS	960.94
DT	970.38	4.80	0	911.69	914.89	903.69	970.38	DT	970.38
DU	980.82	4.85	0	920.94	924.14	912.94	980.82	DU	980.82
DV	990.26	4.90	0	930.19	933.39	922.19	990.26	DV	990.26
DW	1000.70	4.95	0	939.44	942.64	931.44	1000.70	DW	1000.70
DX	1010.14	5.00	0	948.69	951.89	940.69	1010.14	DX	1010.14
DY	1020.58	5.05	0	957.94	961.14	949.94	1020.58	DY	1020.58
DZ	1030.02	5.10	0	967.19	970.39	959.19	1030.02	DZ	1030.02
EA	1040.46	5.15	0	976.44	979.64	968.44	1040.46	EA	1040.46
EB	1050.90	5.20	0	985.69	988.89	977.69	1050.90	EB	1050.90
EC	1060.34	5.25	0	994.94	998.14	986.94	1060.34	EC	1060.34
ED	1070.78	5.30	0	1004.19	1007.39	996.19	1070.78	ED	1070.78
EE	1080.22	5.35	0	1013.44	1016.64	1005.44	1080.22	EE	1080.22
EF	1090.66	5.40	0	1022.69	1025.89	1014.69	1090.66	EF	1090.66
EG	1100.10	5.45	0	1031.94	1035.14	1023.94	1100.10	EG	1100.10
EH	1110.54	5.50	0	1041.19	1044.39	1033.19	1110.54	EH	1110.54
EI	1120.98	5.55	0	1050.44	1053.64	1042.44	1120.98	EI	1120.98
EJ	1130.42	5.60	0	1059.69	1062.89	1051.69	1130.42	EJ	1130.42
EK	1140.86	5.65	0	1068.94	1072.14	1060.94	1140.86	EK	1140.86
EL	1150.30	5.70	0	1078.19	1081.39	1070.19	1150.30	EL	1150.30
EM	1160.74	5.75	0	1087.44	1090.64	1079.44	1160.74	EM	1160.74
EN	1170.18	5.80	0	1096.69	1099.89	1088.69	1170.18	EN	1170.18
EO	1180.62	5.85	0	1105.94	1109.14	1097.94	1180.62	EO	1180.62
EP	1190.06	5.90	0	1115.19	1118.39	1107.19	1190.06	EP	1190.06
EQ	1200.50	5.95	0	1124.44	1127.64	1116.44	1200.50	EQ	1200.50
ER	1210.94	6.00	0	1133.69	1136.89	1125.69	1210.94	ER	1210.94
ES	1220.38	6.05	0	1142.94	1146.14	1134.94	1220.38	ES	1220.38
ET	1230.82	6.10	0	1152.19	1155.39	1144.19	1230.82	ET	1230.82
EU	1240.26	6.15	0	1161.44	1164.64	1153.44</			

WORLD CUP



Christian Vieri of Italy, center, shooting past the Norwegian goalkeeper, Frode Grodas, for the only goal of the match on Saturday.

Vieri's Goal Is All Italy Needs to Advance

By Steven Goff
Washington Post Service

MARSEILLE — For weeks, the great debate on the streets of Milan and in the cafés of Rome has been whether Roberto Baggio — star of the past — or Alessandro Del Piero — star of the present and future — should start at withdrawn forward for Italy's World Cup squad.

But while Italy's coach, Cesare Maldini, has tried to solve the puzzle involving his two highest-profile players, there has been one consistent element to the team's pursuit of a fourth world title: Christian Vieri.

With a goal during a swift counterattack in the 18th minute Saturday, Vieri lifted Italy past Norway, 1-0, in a round-of-16 match before 60,000 here at Stade Velodrome and moved himself into the tournament's scoring lead with five. The goal also propelled Italy into a quarterfinal Friday.

Vieri, a sturdy forward for the Spanish club Atletico Madrid,

gathered Luigi Di Biagio's splendid long ball between two defenders and cruised into the right side of the penalty area before beating goalkeeper

ITALY 1, NORWAY 0

Frode Grodas with a sharp shot into the far corner. Vieri moved ahead of Argentina's Gabriel Batistuta in the chase for the individual scoring title, known as the Golden Boot Award.

A softspoken 24-year-old and a prototype center forward, Vieri has let his goals attract attention, instead of off-field antics or outrageous comments.

"We just had very many good occasions to score," Vieri said. "It's very nice to score in the World Cup. But I'm just happy to win the game. Norway is a difficult opponent."

Difficult, perhaps. Dangerous? No. The Norwegians were perfectly happy to put 10 players in Italy's path and leave their lanky striker, Tore Andre Flo, on his own to solve Italy's injury-riddled defense.

Flo, who scored in a 2-1 upset of Brazil four days ago, wasn't much of a factor because Italy bumped and tripped him into virtual insignificance.

The Italian defense — which has lost starting backs Ciro Ferrara and Alessandro Nesta and goalie Angelo Peruzzi to injuries — got a perfectly timed boost from Giuseppe Bergomi, 34, who started in his country's most recent World Cup championship, in 1982.

Norway's best opportunity to force the first sudden-death overtime of this World Cup came in the 70th minute, when Italy's goalkeeper, Gianluca Pagliuca, made a phenomenal save with his right hand on Flo's six-meter (21-foot) header.

"We did not play up to our limits," said Egil Olsen, the coach who guided Norway past the first round for the first time in three World Cup appearances.

"If we had done that, we would have beaten Italy. I wasn't partic-

ularly impressed with Italy either."

After a glowing start, Italy — particularly the struggling Del Piero — missed several scoring opportunities, then settled into its own, very Italian, defensive shell. Nothing came close to the net after Flo's stinging bid.

Del Piero, 24, got the call alongside Vieri for the second consecutive match after the 30-year-old Baggio, a late addition to the World Cup roster after two years away from the national team, started the first two games and scored two goals while Del Piero recovered from a leg injury.

Del Piero's inability to convert three golden chances Saturday had Italy's supporters calling for Baggio. But Maldini never relented, in part because, as one theory goes, a Baggio appearance and goal could further sink Del Piero's confidence and essentially render him useless for the rest of the tournament.

Baggio never appeared Saturday, as Maldini replaced Del Piero with Enrico Chiesa in the 78th minute.

TV or Not TV? In Soccer, Let Humans Be the Refs

The Official's Point of View Is All That Matters

By Ian Thomsen
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The "referee of the future" will wear a stopwatch linked up to the stadium clock, a microphone and earpiece linking him to his two linesmen, an electronic notepad linking him with a database and, over his left eye, a miniature video screen providing him with replays on a moment's notice.

I have seen this kind of referee before. It is called The Borg — the biomechanical monster that threatens the human race in the "Star Trek" movies.

This illustration of the "referee of the future" was published the other day with some

VANTAGE POINT

irony by one of Britain's best newspapers. The flaw is what will happen if it rains. The referee will be electrocuted.

The referees would be doing a better job in this World Cup if people tried to understand them. Unfortunately, this is impossible. People may respect referees, but no one understands why they want to do what they do. FIFA, the international soccer federation overseeing the World Cup, treats referees like savages and stoolies, or even worse like tax auditors. FIFA needs referees, but that doesn't mean FIFA likes referees.

During the last World Cup four years ago, FIFA began trying to outwit the referee from behind, ordering referees to award yellow or red cards for dangerous tackles that have long been considered part of the game. For the next 3 years and 10 months, the referee-from-behind worked its way back into play around the world. Then, on the eve of the current World Cup, the referees were ordered to start cracking down on such tackles again. The problem is not whether the tackle from behind should be allowed or not. It's the unfair way referees have been treated.

During the first wave of matches in France, the FIFA president, Sepp Blatter, complained that the referees were being inconsistent.

Here is what the referees ought to do. They ought to kidnap Mr. Blatter, blindfold him, and drive him in a van to a packed stadium in Turkey or Italy or Brazil and send him out onto the field with a whistle and not allow him to leave until his 90 minutes are up.

Then he might realize that the referee's sense of instinct is sacred. If, at the last minute, you introduce a difficult addendum to the rules, as FIFA has done for the second World Cup in a row, you are asking referees to second-guess themselves during play.

On the tackle from behind they can no longer trust their instincts. Instead, they have to think it through — is this what the boss wants me to do? — and then try to come up with the right answer.

Thus is the whole equilibrium thrown out of balance. The referee who treats players like men, ignoring some fouls and punishing others according to the flow of the game, is probably going to be criticized by FIFA. The referee who mindlessly holds up a yellow card or red card every few minutes — like a human traffic light — is apparently going to be praised.

It is easy to understand how the game can get out of hand once a referee can no longer trust his own sense of discipline. Let's see, I gave a red card for a harmless tackle, so this player dawdling too long over a corner kick surely merits a yellow. You can see some of them revising their standards as they go.

My theory is that referees are the victims of our infatuation with television. TV is still a new toy, and we as humans have yet to put it in its proper place. At the moment there is a general feeling that the TV cameras provide a more honest point of view than the perspective of a human being.

This is ridiculous. The TV cameras all contradict each other, as the debate on Norway's penalty against Brazil has shown. One, positioned on the west side of the field, might cry foul; another, from the south, calls for play to move on. So what is the truth? We watch a half-dozen contradictory replays in slow motion on TV until — aha! — we come to the one that shows "what really happened." But that's a fallacy. That particular angle is just one point of view of what happened.

A better philosopher than I am would be able to prove that the only point of view that matters is the point of view of the referee. Soccer is a game played by humans — in fact that is its only value, that humans play it — and it should be judged by one of their own kind viewing it in three dimensions, not two, and using all five of his senses.

The NFL tried to use instant replays to correct refereeing decisions, and it was a disaster. The games were delayed for minutes at a time, and the replays were inconclusive. Don't even think about using a similar system for soccer.

The best thing about referees is that they make mistakes. When a decision goes against your team, you can always say the referee messed it up. Or, in the case of this World Cup, you can blame Mr. Blatter.

Ian Thomsen is a senior writer at Sports Illustrated magazine.

Time for 2 Comeback Teams to Meet Each Other

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

The first match on Monday is between the two teams that made the most spectacular rebounds in the first round: Mexico and Germany.

The second match pairs the two teams that were victims

MONDAY MATCHES

of those comebacks: the Netherlands and Yugoslavia.

In battling back from two goals down against the Yugoslavs, the Germans confirmed their reputation as implacable fighters. They dispelled, for the moment, questions about the team's age.

In allowing two-goal leads to slip, the Yugoslavs and the Dutch adhered to long-held

reputations as nations that fail in the clutch, obscuring their immense talents.

Germany vs Mexico, 4:30 P.M., Montpellier. No lead will be safe.

Mexico trailed at halftime in all three of its games, but came back every time, winning once and drawing twice.

The Germans, despite being one of the oldest teams in the competition with an average age of nearly 30, have shown superb stamina.

Mexico has beaten Germany only once in eight clashes since 1968. The last time the two countries met in the World Cup was in the 1986 quarter-finals in Mexico. Germany won after a penalty shoot-out.

The Germans are expected to start with the same team that began the second half against Iran last Thursday with Lothar Matthäus at libero and Thomas Haessler in midfield alongside Thomas Helmer and Dietmar Hamann.

Mexico will be without Ramon Ramirez, suspended after a red card against the Netherlands. The 35-year-old Jaime Ordaz could be recalled to play in midfield alongside German Villa and Alberto Garcia.

Netherlands vs Yugoslavia, 9 P.M., Toulouse. These two countries traditionally suffer a strange soccer affliction: their Achilles heels are between their ears.

The Dutch have played

some breathtaking soccer in all three of their matches. They were dazzling for 20 minutes against Belgium — and drew 0-0. They were brilliant as they built a two-goal lead against Mexico, only to allow the Mexicans, playing with 10 men, to draw 2-2.

Were those lapses a sign that the Dutch are still beset by their old psychological problems or that, like true professionals, they were doing only as they much as they had to to win a relatively soft group? After all, the draw against Mexico was still enough for first place.

"In the back of our minds, we knew a draw was enough," said Ronald de Boer, the Dutch midfielder.

Whatever their mental state, the team has no physical problems. Everyone, said Guus Hiddink, the coach, is fit. Patrick Kluitert will be available after a two-game suspension.

The Yugoslavs battled their way to seven points in Group F and still finished second to the Germans. Their reward is a clutch of players' nursing injuries, among them striker Predrag Mijatovic.

"The Dutch are among three-to-four top teams in the world. But so are the Germans, who got outplayed by us," said Zeljko Procvica, a Yugoslav defender.

Mijatovic, who is suffering from an aching knee, was substituted for in Yugoslavia's match against the United States but will start Monday. Defenders Zoran Mirkovic and Miroslav Djukic will miss the match. Striker Darko Kovacevic has not recovered from a hamstring injury.

But midfielder Dejan Stankovic, who has a sore ankle, should be able to play. Midfielder Dejan Savicevic played the second half against the Americans for his first match in two months. But he was reluctant to enter duels and did not appear fully fit. (Reuters, AFP, AP)

BOOKS

DR. SPOCK

An American Life

By Thomas Maier. 520 pages. \$30. Harcourt Brace.

Reviewed by James H. Jones

"TRUST yourself," Benjamin Spock told parents. "You know more than you think." This advice resonated for many, and over time they came to trust not only themselves but also the man who delivered it. When he died in March, Dr. Spock was the most widely read and deeply admired pediatrician in the United States. His "Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care" (1947), sold tens of millions of copies and is still in print.

For a few decades following World War II, most Americans thought that the United States would be able to build a better world. Such optimism came easily to a people fortunate enough to live in a nation blessed with robust economic growth. Nowhere was the belief in the possibility of progress more evident than in child rearing. Postwar Americans begot the baby boomers, and parents wanted to make them the healthiest, smartest and best-adjusted generation in history.

To accomplish this daunting task, millions of parents turned to the experts for advice, information and reassurance. Many of these experts were our souls, advising mothers to avoid displays of affection, to discourage thumb-sucking and to impose strict feeding and potty-

training schedules. Spock saw these issues in a different light. He encouraged mothers and fathers to hug and kiss their children, to indulge thumb-sucking (within limits), to adopt flexible feeding schedules and to lighten up on rigid toilet training.

Spock's book was also user-friendly. In place of the jargon and syntactical contortions that many doctors used, his prose was simple, straightforward and diamond-clear, with the rhythms of educated speech, the tone carrying its own natural authority, open and welcoming to any reader. Hidden within this disarmingly engaging prose and commonsense approach to child rearing was a potent dose of Sigmund Freud's theories. Indeed, Spock probably did more to popularize Freudian theories of child development than any other figure up to that point in American history.

Thomas Maier, a prize-winning journalist and author, has crafted a richly detailed and highly sympathetic portrait. Born in 1903 to upper-class and very proper New England parents, Spock had a childhood that was far from ideal. His mother was a rigid Victorian housewife, domineering and strict; his father, a successful railroad attorney, was in equal measure cool and aloof. Prep school at Phillips Academy and college at Yale University — where Spock was a member of the crew that won the Gold Medal in the 1924 Paris Olympics — provided havens from parental domination. Still, he did not establish his independence until he entered medical school at

Columbia University, where he trained in pediatrics and finished first in his class.

A principled and courageous man, Spock was not afraid to risk his reputation and standing on causes that touched his conscience. At an age when most people retire to rocking chairs, he became a leader of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, an early and steadfast critic of the war in Vietnam and a stalwart champion of the civil rights movement. Spock paid a price for his political activism, as many former admirers denounced his views and blamed him for spawning a generation of "Spock babies" who rebelled against authority.

Although Maier has a tendency to be repetitive, he does an excellent job of showing how Spock's personal affairs were often at odds with his public image. He divorced his first wife, Jane Cheney Spock, after more than 40 years of marriage, largely because she was an alcoholic, and his sons complained as adults that he had been a distant, emotionally aloof father. In his final years Spock was able to find happiness. He spent his last two decades married to Mary Morgan, a free-spirited woman 40 years his junior. He will be remembered in history, however, as the pediatrician who taught Americans to be loving, competent parents.

James H. Jones, author of "Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life," wrote this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

IN the diagrammed deal, I which took place at the Cavendish Invitational Pairs in Las Vegas, Nevada, Amos Kaminski was sitting South. Like almost all the other pairs, he and his partner, Jimmy Rosenbloom, landed in three no-trump. The combined hands had 26 points, but not enough tricks. At other tables the usual result was down two.

The diamond queen was led and won with the king. Kaminski now made the dramatic lead of the club king, knowing that his cause was hopeless if the ace-queen was on his left. Holding up would not have helped West in the long run, and he took his ace.

He continued with a small diamond, and South won with dummy's ace. He needed the small diamond in his hand for future purposes.

Next he played a club from dummy, and East put up the queen. South now knew the

club situation. A heart shift was won with the ace, and South tested the heart situation by cashing the king. He now decided that West did not have much for a vulnerable overcall and was likely to have the spade queen to justify it. He therefore cashed the ace and king of spades, collecting the queen and reaching the ending shown at left.

A spade was led to the jack, and West was forced to part with a diamond. Kaminski had the position he wanted, and knew it. Overextended by the success of cardreading, he hurried the diamond two on the table. But when he looked down he discovered to his horror that he had actually played the club nine and was down one. He had made a very small

profit, instead of earning a large profit and perhaps a prize for the best hand of 1998.

NORTH		WEST		EAST	
♠ 8 6 5		♠ 9 8 7		♠ 10 7 3 2	
♥ 8 4 7		♥ A 9 7		♥ Q J 9 7 5	
♦ 6 5 2		♦ Q J 8 5 4		♦ 10 6	
		♣ A 10 8 5		♣ Q 7	

SOUTH (D)

SOUTH		WEST		EAST	
♠ A J 4		♠ 10		♠ Pass	
♥ A K 2		♥ 10		♥ Pass	
♦ K 3 2		♦ 10		♦ Pass	
♣ K J 4		♣ 10		♣ Pass	

Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding: South: 1♣, 1♦, 1♥, 1♠, 2♠, 3♠, 4♠, 5♠, 6♠, 7♠, 8♠, 9♠, 10♠, 11♠, 12♠, 13♠, 14♠, 15♠, 16♠, 17♠, 18♠, 19♠, 20♠, 21♠, 22♠, 23♠, 24♠, 25♠, 26♠, 27♠, 28♠, 29♠, 30♠, 31♠, 32♠, 33♠, 34♠, 35♠, 36♠, 37♠, 38♠, 39♠, 40♠, 41♠, 42♠, 43♠, 44♠, 45♠, 46♠, 47♠, 48♠, 49♠, 50♠, 51♠, 52♠, 53♠, 54♠, 55♠, 56♠, 57♠, 58♠, 59♠, 60♠, 61♠, 62♠, 63♠, 64♠, 65♠, 66♠, 67♠, 68♠, 69♠, 70♠, 71♠, 72♠, 73♠, 74♠, 75♠, 76♠, 77♠, 78♠, 79♠, 80♠, 81♠, 82♠, 83♠, 84♠, 85♠, 86♠, 87♠, 88♠, 89♠, 90♠, 91♠, 92♠, 93♠, 94♠, 95♠, 96♠, 97♠, 98♠, 99♠, 100♠.

BusinessWeek

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Chile Shows Spirit; Brazil Shows Genius

4-1 Victory for Inspired World Champion

By Rob Hughes
International Herald Tribune

PARIS—In the space of a weekend, we have seen what spirit means to the World Cup of soccer.

At Parc des Princes on Saturday, the sport began with a rainbow arched over the stadium, and Brazil beat Chile, 4-1, in a contest where Chile, the underdog,

VANTAGE POINT

had the courage — some insist the naïveté — to attempt to play the game in the spirit to which it was born. Chile lost heavily but still contributed to a Latin American passion play that lifted Brazil, and lifted the souls of 60,000 in the stadium.

Less than a day later, up in the industrial north, the cockerel of France was almost throttled by the minnow from Paraguay. The match was in Lens, a small town so proud of its own soccer club, which a couple of months ago showed that the small can go forward in victory.

It took a goal deep into extra time from a defenseman, Laurent Blanc, to break the resistance of a small country that many people believe has the right to stay in the tournament through any means it can. I am not sympathetic to that sentiment: Soccer is a game, not a business or a war. Teams are here both to compete and to entertain, and to organize frustration for two hours, to stifle and destroy the flow of a game is not in the spirit of sport.

Am I, then, impossibly naïve? Probably, for like Chile's team, I believe it is better to try to appeal to the people through attacking flair than to steal something from them by eliminating flair from the game.

Chile tried to surprise Brazil with skilled, attacking play. It stimulated the world champion in an hour of beauty that could, if others dare to follow, give a new dimension to this World Cup.

The moment the anthems played in the Parc des Princes, you could see, hear, and feel the Chileans' passion. Rarely has any player shown such a fervor to his national song as Ivan Zamorano. He played his heart out, and at the finish, his embrace — long and generous — around Ronaldo, his young Inter Milan teammate, was that of a man who may be leaving his last World Cup to a youngster whose future is before him. There was respect in that gesture, and respect throughout the game for the way soccer should be performed.

In the stands, bathed almost entirely in Brazilian yellow, a small core of red-shirted Chileans ceaselessly urged on their team. The drum beating without pause and without despair was also Chilean. The hands that beat out an unyielding rhythm belonged to a Chilean youth who, bare-chested and blind to despair, kept up an intoxicating rapport with the play.

He and his compatriots had 11 minutes of hope. Their players moved the ball with swiftness, invention, and audacity. They wanted to take on the mighty Brazil at Brazil's own game. But two goals, from two free kicks, betrayed Chile. They couldn't defend as they intended to attack, their concentration was wayward and Cesar Sampaio, a defensive midfielder, twice punished them.

His first goal was a characteristic header, guided home with force and opportunism. We have seen him score that way against Scotland in the opening match at Stade de France, a defender lurking with intent and punishing the opposing defense whose guard is dis-



Inter Milan teammates, Ivan Zamorano and Ronaldo, walking off the field after the Brazil-Chile match in Paris.

tracted by the presence of Ronaldo, Bebeto, Rivaldo et al.

Sampaio showed what it meant. He slumped to the ground on his knees, his arms raised in despair, his eyes awash with tears. And he did it all again when, after a second free kick, he expertly side-footed the second goal. By halftime Ronaldo had scored a penalty, and Brazil was ready to turn on samba style.

Beaten for pace, for skill and above all for power, the Chileans could have tried to spare themselves further exposure. They had the perfect excuse, that three midfield players were banned through suspension against the world's best team. But Zamorano and Salas

wanted at least to leave an imprint, and when Brazil became a mile overadventurous, complacent perhaps, Zamorano sped forward, compromised the goalkeeper, Taffarel, with his left header, and Salas scored with another example of his rapacious and quick finishing.

For maybe 90 seconds, the drum beat louder. Then, stung by Chile's daring, Brazil put them in their place. Denilson burst forward, waited, released the ball, and Ronaldo was merciless in using his right foot to finish the job.

Denilson is Brazil's substitute. He would start on any other team on earth. Tall and lean and coltish, he changes the complexion of any match, because he is

thrilled by his own creative capacity and has not been told, or has not listened, to any words of caution. Brazil's coach, Mario Zagallo, has good reason to use such a talent sparingly because the balance of the team allows Roberto Carlos, also left-sided, to attack as no defender before him has had license to do.

Against Chile, it became a beautiful game. Against others, Argentina for sure, the Netherlands maybe, the coach will rein in the adventure. But we had an hour of the real game Saturday, followed by two hours of depression Sunday. If it is naive to praise one and lament the other, since when was naïveté a sin?

Early Goals Lift Danes To an Upset Over Nigeria

The Associated Press

SAINT-DENIS, France — Denmark scored twice in the first 12 minutes Sunday and went on to upset Nigeria, 4-1, in the second round of the World Cup.

The Danes will play Brazil in the quarterfinals in Nantes on Friday.

Peter Moller scored on nearly his first touch of the tournament in the third

DENMARK 4, NIGERIA 1

minute. Martin Jorgensen chipped the ball out of midfield to Michael Laudrup, who moved into the penalty area before rolling the ball back to Moller.

The striker, who has not appeared in any of Denmark's group matches, hit a shot that squeezed between diving goalkeeper Peter Rufai and the right post.

Moller set up Denmark's second goal, blasting a free kick that Rufai only parried. Brian Laudrup, reacting faster than the defense, ran onto the loose ball and popped it into the goal.

The Nigerians took nearly 30 minutes to recover from the pair of goals before finally creating some sustained pressure on the Danish goal, but they could not create any clear-cut chances.

Denmark, led by the Laudrup brothers, cut through the Nigerian defense time and again. After Ebbe Sand replaced Moller in the 60th minute, he scored the first time he received the ball — from a pass by Michael Laudrup.

Thomas Helveg blasted the ball into the goal in the 76th minute after Rufai had again failed to hold a shot. Tijani Babangida struck for Nigeria in the 78th minute, but by then the last African team was out of the World Cup.

WORLD CUP BRIEFS

Fewer Goals So Far

Scoring in the first round of the World Cup was down slightly in the first round of the World Cup from four years ago.

FIFA, soccer's world governing body, said the first 48 games produced 126 goals — an average of 2.63 a match. In 1994, the first round — with 36 games — had a 2.71-goals-per-game average.

There were 176 yellow cards for an average of 3.7 a game, down from 4.2 in the '94 Cup. But red cards were up, with 16 for a 0.3 average, from 8 and an average of 0.22 in 1994.

Sepp Blatter, president of FIFA, said the games in France still were full of action. "They present a great spectacle," he said. (AP)

Chile's Coach on Way Out

Nelson Acosta, Chile's coach, said Saturday, shortly after his team had been put out of the World Cup by Brazil, that he would leave the job at the end of the year.

Acosta, who led Chile to the World Cup finals for the first time in 16 years, has criticized the organization of soccer in Chile, saying that it did not allow the development of a truly competitive national team. (AP)

Sir Alf Ramsey in Clinic

Sir Alf Ramsey, who managed the England team that won the 1966 World Cup, has been admitted to a hospital in Ipswich and is resting comfortably, a hospital spokeswoman said Sunday. The spokeswoman did not comment on a report that Sir Alf had suffered a stroke.

Sir Alf, 78, played 31 times for England before going on to manage the national team from 1963 to 1974. Like the current England manager Glenn Hoddle, Sir Alf played for the London club Tottenham Hotspur. (Reuters)

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Policeman's Mirth Stirs a Tinge of Panic at Lens

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — I had a terrifying experience in Lens.

It wasn't the England soccer fans who had descended on the town to watch their national team — my national team — beat Colombia, even though so many of them deeply want to be scary.

It wasn't the scowling CRS, the French riot policemen, lined up in armored, helmeted ranks, with the quite understandable desire to be intimidating.

No, it was a laughing policeman and an awful memory that scared the wits out of me.

Over the last 10 days, the French authorities have had an unpleasant crash course in soccer hooliganism. The police and the CRS in Lens on Friday were understandably in no mood to tolerate any nonsense.

A gendarme, Daniel Nivel, lies in a coma in a hospital in Lille, after being bludgeoned by German soccer hooligans. The French policemen must have watched on television as English fans smashed up Marseille and fought a two-day battle with the police and local youths. Now here was an army of English in Lens, with rumors that the German hooligans were on their way back for a "World Cup of Hooliganism."

And army is what it was: 40,000 strong by some estimates, clad in uniform England soccer shirts, arriving in regiment-sized train and ferry loads and united by the same troublesome, trou-

Vantage Point/ PETER BERLIN

ble-making attitudes.

It would be difficult enough trying to sort out a few hundred hard-core hooligans in that mass, but with the English it is compounded by the mentality of a high proportion of the "ordinary" fans. They view soccer matches and trips abroad as times to get drunk. And on Friday, abroad for a soccer match, many were staggering through the streets of Lens before the match in spite of the alcohol ban. They also regard all foreigners as unwelcome and uncivilized.

It must be galling to the French police and the CRS, to find that these thugs regard them, the guardians of the Fifth Republic, as the barbarians.

Many of these fans just don't seem to get it. The problem is, judging from one small but frightening incident Friday, some of the French police are also missing an important point.

Soccer crowds are dangerous not just because they harbor hooligans, but because they are huge, tidal masses of people crowded into small places. They are a menace to themselves, and the police have a duty to protect them from themselves.

That is the lesson the English learned in the worst possible way 10 years ago.

Before the World Cup, Sepp Blatter, now the president of FIFA, the governing body of world soccer, urged the

French to take down fences at grounds because, he said, fans aren't animals. Now that English and German fans have behaved like animals, the fences, and the attitudes that go with them, are set in place. That is how it was in England for four years after the Heysel Stadium disaster in 1985. Then 39 fans, mostly Italians, died, or were crushed or trampled to death as they attempted to flee English hooligans at a match between Liverpool, an English club, and Juventus of Turin.

After that, the fences went up in England. The emphasis was on penning in the dangerous animals who went to soccer games. In 1989, at Hillsborough in Sheffield, 95 fans, ironically from Liverpool, were crushed to death against those fences, by a sudden surge of the crowd behind them. Within days the fences had started to come down again and police attitudes had begun to change.

Nick Hornby wrote in "Fever Pitch," his book about being a soccer fan, that seeing the film and photographs of Hillsborough, he suddenly realized how often at soccer games he had been in danger, crammed into a space with no escape, one slip away from disaster, trusting that the police knew what they were doing when, as Hillsborough showed, they did not. The thought chimed true with every English

soccer fan.

In Lens on Friday, I found myself, very briefly, but very frighteningly in such a situation once again. It only lasted a few seconds, but as Hillsborough showed it only takes a few seconds for things to go disastrously wrong.

At the Lens station after the match, the police had decided, for some reason, to stop many of the fans entering by the main station entrance and directed us to a small side gate, flanked by a building and a fence. Behind the fence was a mass of policemen and behind them were our trains.

The logical thing would have been to get the fans on the trains as quickly as possible; instead, presumably to make a point, the police allowed the fans through the gate only in ones or twos. A large and surly crowd gathered, pressing forward toward the gate.

Normally, this is a situation I would avoid, but it was nearly midnight and my train to Paris left in a few minutes, so I plunged in. I was working my way along the fence toward the gate when there was a sudden press. I found myself pressed hard against the fence. I shouted at a policeman on the other side of the fence. He laughed back. A current in the crowd carried me forward and I was popped through the gate.

Furious, I jumped up and told the smirking policeman that he and his colleagues were creating a situation where people could get killed. He replied that "only hooligans kill people."

French Veto Alcohol Ban Before England's Match

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SAINT-ETIENNE, France — French authorities will not impose a general ban on the sale or drinking of alcohol in Saint-Etienne before England's World Cup match Tuesday against Argentina.

Alcohol will be banned in and around the Geoffroy-Guichard Stadium on the day of the match. But bars in Saint-Etienne and nine neighboring towns can stay open until 11:00 P.M. both Monday and Tuesday.

Jean-Yves Audouin, governor of the Loire region, said Sunday that the decision was made not to impose a general ban because of the amount of time the police would spend monitoring it. But he warned that a ban could be imposed if there is trouble involving England's fans before the second-round match, which begins at 9:00 P.M.

The number of police officers in Saint-Etienne has been increased to 1,500 from the 900 who were on duty for the other five games in the southeastern French city. The extra police were to be begin arriving Sunday.

"For the Scotland versus Morocco match the supporters were all here before the police," Audouin said. "This time the police will be here before the supporters."

Drunken fans ran riot in Marseille before, during and after England's opening match against Tunisia. There was no serious violence in Toulouse for the second game against Romania, but there was some fighting in Lens before the third match against Colombia.

The game Tuesday will not be shown on the big screen in Marengo Square in the heart of Saint-Etienne. Local au-



English soccer fans drinking beer as French security forces stand guard Sunday in Saint-Etienne. England will play Argentina there Tuesday.

thorities have organized a concert in the square early Tuesday evening to entertain the fans and are clearly hoping for a festive atmosphere before the game.

Local authorities also have to cope

with the expected presence of more than 10,000 Argentines and the possibility that local North African youths might seek a confrontation with the English after the incidents in Marseille. (Reuters, AFP)

SECOND ROUND			
JUNE 27, IN ST. DENIS	1—Brazil 4, Chile 1	2—Italy 1, Norway 0	3—France 1, Paraguay 0
JUNE 28, IN ST. DENIS	4—Nigeria 1, Denmark 1	5—Netherlands 2, Yugoslavia 1	6—Germany 2, Mexico 0
JUNE 29, IN ST. DENIS	7—Romania 1, Croatia 1	8—Argentina 2, England 1	9—Colombia 1, Russia 0
QUARTERFINALS			
JULY 3, IN MANTOVA	A—Brazil vs. Denmark 4	B—Italy vs. France 4	C—Netherlands vs. Yugoslavia 5
JULY 4, IN MARSEILLE	D—Germany vs. Mexico 6	E—Argentina vs. England 7	F—Colombia vs. Russia 8
SEMIFINALS			
JULY 7, IN MARSEILLE	Winner A vs. Winner C	JULY 8, IN ST. DENIS	Winner B vs. Winner D
THIRD PLACE			
JULY 11, IN PARIS			
Losing semfinalists			
FINAL			
JULY 12, IN ST. DENIS			

The second round, knockout section, opens on Saturday with the introduction of the "golden goal" rule. When matches are drawn after 90 minutes, teams start to play two 15-minute periods of extra time. Under the new rule, the first goal scored in extra time wins the match. If no goal is scored in the 30 minutes, the match will be decided by a penalty shootout or, before.

GOAL SCORERS

World Cup scores after Sunday matches.
5 goals: Gabriel Batistuta, Argentina; Marcelo Salas, Chile.
3 goals: Thierry Henry, France; Luis Hernandez, Mexico; Cesar Sampaio, Ronaldo, Brazil.
2 goals: Davor Simic, Croatia; Marc Wilmots, Belgium; Adil Hachimi, Algeria; Roberto Carlos, Italy; Roberto Carlos, Brazil; Sebastiao Bastos, Abdelhak Benoun, Morocco; Shem Ben-David, South Africa; Francisco Mariaca, Chile; Fernando Torres, Spain; Phillip Cocu, Netherlands; Oliver Bierhoff, Germany; Thomas Helveg, Denmark; Jovan Kirovski, Macedonia; Vladimir Vukobratovic, Serbia and Montenegro.
1 goal: Rivaldo, Brazil; John Collins, Craig Bellamy, Scotland; Den Zuydam, Howard Flo, Tore Andre Flo, Norway; Hristo Stoichkov, Bulgaria; Igor Djendjic, Bosnia; Toni Polster, Nico Vasthi, Andreas Hertzog, Australia; Peter Moller, Brian Laudrup, Ebbe Sand, Thomas Helveg, Denmark; Ricardo Pelaez, Mexico; Oliver Bierhoff, Jovan Kirovski, Germany; Thomas Helveg, Denmark; Jovan Kirovski, Macedonia; Vladimir Vukobratovic, Serbia and Montenegro.
Own goals: Paul Schuster, Michael Owen, Darren Andrich, David Beckham, England; Adrian Ilie, Dan Petrescu, Romania; Andy Moller, Germany; Dennis McCarthy, South Africa; Marc Wilmots, Belgium; Pierre Van Hool, Netherlands; Hansi Ertl, Austria; Michael Thurman, Ireland; Michael O'Neill, Ireland; Alan Hogg, Scotland; Alan Hogg, Scotland; Alan Hogg, Scotland.
Own goals: Yoon Byul, Scotland; Yoon Byul, Scotland; Yoon Byul, Scotland.



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SPORTS

Glavine Notches His 11th Victory

Braves' Hurler Holds Off Toronto, Joining Maddux for League Lead



A TRYING NIGHT — Pieter Roussow, the South African wing, evading a tackle from Garon Evans of South Africa. South Africa scored 15 tries as it won the first test by a record 96-13. In other international matches, France beat Fiji 34-9 in Suva and New Zealand beat England 40-10 in the second test in Auckland. England has lost every game of its tour so far and now flies to South Africa.

The Associated Press
Tom Glavine joined teammate Greg Maddux as the only 11-game winners in the National League and also matched a career high by driving in three runs Sunday as the Atlanta Braves overpowered the Toronto Blue Jays, 10-3.

Glavine (11-3) allowed five

hits, walked one and struck out one in seven innings.

Randall Simon, recalled from the minors Sunday a day after knocking in 10 runs in a Triple-A game, also had three runs batted in.

Shawn Green hit a pair of bases-empty home runs for the Blue Jays.

Glavine, who entered the game hitting .133 (4-for-30) with two RBIs, went 2-for-3 and raised his average to .182.

Ryan Klesko knocked in two runs in the first inning with a single and Michael Tucker, Simon and Glavine added RBI singles.

In other interleague games:

Expos 8, Orioles 4 In Montreal, Vladimir Guerrero had three hits, including a two-run homer, as Montreal handed Baltimore its sixth straight loss.

Javier Vazquez (2-6) allowed four runs in five-plus innings to win for the first time in 11 starts. Ugueth Urbina got the final two outs for his 20th save.

The Expos swept the three-game series, only their second series sweep of the season.

Guerrero homered off Doug Drabek (5-8) in the third, singled in the sixth, and drove in another run with a groundout in the eighth.

Rafael Palmeiro hit a two-run homer with no outs in the sixth to cut Montreal's lead to 6-4 and chase Vazquez.

Astros 12, Indians 3 Moises Alou homered, had three hits and drove in three runs as visiting Houston beat Cleveland to take two of three games in their interleague series.

The Astros homered twice against Charles Nagy (7-4). Nagy, winless in June, was charged with eight earned runs in 5 1/2 innings after Houston rocked Tim Lincecum in the sixth.

Derek Bell hit a 433-foot solo homer in the first, his 11th.

Jose Mesa got the decisive hit for the second straight day, making it 4-2 with a two-run

homer, his 16th, off Nagy in the fourth.

Shane Reynolds (9-5) allowed two runs and seven hits in six innings, giving up Sandy Alomar's sixth homer off the left-field foul pole in the second.

Houston scored four runs in the ninth on six straight hits off Worrell and Alvin Morman.

Reds 5, Tigers 2 In Detroit, Steve Parris posted his first victory in nearly three years as Cincinnati finished a three-game sweep of Detroit.

Bret Boone hit a two-run double for the Reds, who have won four straight after an 11-game losing streak.

Bobby Higginson and Damion Easley homered for Detroit.

Parris (1-0), making his first start of the season, won for the first time since pitching Pittsburgh to a 3-2 victory over Florida on Aug. 20, 1995.

Justin Thompson (6-8) remained winless at home, giving up five runs on six hits in 5 1/2 innings.

Boone's two-run double came after Chris Stynes beat out an infield single and Barry Larkin walked. Dmitri Young followed with an RBI single.

Higginson got one back with a two-out homer, his 16th, in the home half.

Thompson retired 10 straight batters before Larkin led off the sixth with a double.

Larkin scored on Melvin Nieves' single, then Pokey Reese singled off Doug Borchert to give the Reds a 5-1 lead.

Easley led off the eighth with his 19th homer off Rick Krivda.

Devil Rays 5, Phillies 4 Fred McGriff hit a two-run homer in the first inning and a tiebreaking single in the eighth that lifted Tampa Bay over Philadelphia.

The Devil Rays won two of three in Philadelphia.

Reliever Albie Lopez (4-2) pitched three shutout innings for the victory.

McGriff's ninth home run of the season was the fifth of his career in 31 at-bats off Phillies starter Mark Portung. McGriff finished 3-for-5.

The Devil Rays scored five runs for the second straight day at Philadelphia. Tampa Bay had scored a total of four runs in its previous four road games.

In Saturday games:

Dodgers 2, Pirates 0 In Los Angeles, Ismael Valdes flirted with a perfect game only to lose it in the eighth inning — for the second time in four starts — for his first one-hitter

in a 2-0 victory over Pittsburgh.

"Everybody wants to get a no-hitter or a perfect game. If it's my destiny to get one, I will someday," said Valdes (6-7), who didn't allow a baserunner until Kevin Young singled on the first pitch of the eighth inning.

Valdes allowed only four runs in his last 30 1/3 innings.

Braves 2, Blue Jays 0 Greg Maddux struck out a career-high 13 and became the National League's first 11-game winner, pitching Atlanta past visiting Toronto.

Maddux (11-2) is 9-0 in his last 12 starts and leads the majors with a 1.64 earned-run average and three shutouts. Maddux walked none and allowed eight hits. The game took 1 hour, 46 minutes, the fastest in the majors this year.

Yankees 7, Mets 2 The New York Yankees made it two straight Saturday over the crossstown Mets, getting a strong start from Andy Pettitte and a three-run homer from Tino Martinez in a 7-2 victory.

The Yankees committed three errors, but they capitalized on two by the Mets, got the big blow from Martinez and a solid outing from Pettitte (9-5).

Padres 5, Angels 1 In San Diego, Sterling Hitchcock pitched no-hit ball until allowing Phil Nevin's homer on the first pitch of the eighth inning, finishing with a two-hitter as the Padres beat Anaheim.

Devil Rays 5, Phillies 4 Paul Sorrento, a pinch hitter, hit a grand slam off Philadelphia's ace, Curt Schilling, in the eighth inning for visiting Tampa Bay. Schilling (7-8) allowed a career-high 13 hits and all five runs.

Giants 6, Rangers 5 Darryl Hamilton got his fourth hit, a one-out single in the 10th inning that bounced past the center fielder, Tom Gooden, and gave San Francisco a victory over visiting Texas. The Rangers committed a season-high five errors, leading to four unearned runs.

Astros 9, Indians 5, In Cleveland, Moises Alou hit an RBI single in the 11th off Jose Mesa, and Carl Everett followed with a three-run homer as Houston beat the Indians.

Expos 8, Orioles 4 Scott Livingstone, a pinch hitter, doubled in the go-ahead run in the seventh inning as host Montreal beat Baltimore.

Red Sox 7, Marlins 4 In Miami, Nomar Garciaparra extended his hitting streak to 19 games as Boston beat Florida for its third straight victory.

Braves 10, White Sox 5 Marquis Grissom doubled to highlight a five-run third inning as Milwaukee won its sixth in a row, beating the White Sox in Chicago. Magglio Ordonez homered, doubled and drove in four runs for the White Sox.

Cardinals 7, Twins 2 In Minneapolis, Mark McGwire hit his 36th home run — matching the most hit by any St. Louis player in a full season since 1949 — to help the Cardinals snap a four-game losing streak. McGwire hit a 2-2 pitch from reliever Mike Trombly and drove in two runs in the seventh. Brian Hunter also homered for the Cardinals.

Reds 6, Tigers 5 Brook Fordyce and Lenny Harris hit RBI singles in the 13th inning as Cincinnati beat Detroit for its third straight victory after an 11-game losing streak.

Athletics 6, Rockies 6 In Denver, Ben Griener hit a two-out, three-run homer in the ninth inning, rallying Oakland past Colorado. Bip Roberts also homered and drove in three runs for the A's, including the tying run in the ninth with a single.

Royals 4, Cubs 3 Johnny Damon's two-out single off Rod Beck in the 10th pushed Kansas City past visiting Chicago.

Mariners 6, Diamondbacks 4 In Phoenix, Jeff Fassero pitched 6 1/3 strong innings and Alex Rodriguez hit his 27th homer as Seattle beat Arizona. Rodriguez, who was 2-for-4 with three RBIs, hit a two-run homer in the ninth. Russ Davis had a solo shot, his 12th, in the second inning.

Soggy Weather Creates Huge Backlog

By Jennifer Frey
Washington Post Service

WIMBLEDON, England — Monica Seles was trying to finish her match on Court 1 for the fourth time in two days when she and Yayuk Basuki, her opponent, smelled smoke.

Soon, there were clouds of the stuff drifting overhead Saturday, and a helicopter circling madly, and both Seles and Basuki wondered, briefly, if it might be time to retreat to the players' locker room once again.

They kept playing, for a few minutes, then the heavens opened for the umpteenth time this week as thunder, lightning, fire and rain visited the All England club on the sixth day of Wimbledon.

"It was just so strange to be out there — I was hoping it was O.K. to breathe the air," said Seles, referring to the smoke clouds that resulted from a fire in an apartment building adjacent to Wimbledon's grounds.

"Both Yayuk and I felt we should stop, but at the end it was probably better to just go on, because it doesn't matter. We've seen everything today."

Everything, that is, except much tennis.

Eventually, Seles, the sixth seed, defeated Basuki, 6-2, 6-3, to advance to the fourth round. No. 1 Martina Hingis and No. 16 Nathalie Tauziat also managed to squeeze in third-round victories Saturday, while No. 3 Petr Korda and No. 12 Tim Henman also slipped through.

No. 8 Conchita Martinez finished her match, but found herself out of the competition, upset by Samantha Smith of Britain in three sets.

Pete Sampras, the top seed, went on court shortly before the first of the rainstorms, sat through two short delays and one long one that turned into a stoppage when night fell.

In all, 16 singles matches were completed — nine men's, seven women's

WIMBLEDON

and three of them leftovers from the second round — as the first week of Wimbledon ended with a tremendous match backlog.

Traditionally, all men's and women's fourth-round singles matches are played on the second Monday, but this year 13 third-round matches remain on the schedule. And the doubles are so far behind that many teams have yet to set foot on a court.

In the players' locker rooms on Saturday, talk centered around the possibility of play on Sunday — Wimbledon's traditional day of rest. Rainy weather twice has forced play on the middle Sunday — in 1991 and again last summer, during the wettest Wimbledon in history.

"I think all of us asked about Sunday," Seles said.

The answer was "no."

In the early afternoon, when the sun was shining and matches were proceeding with regularity, Wimbledon officials declared that there would be no need to play on the off day, and no amount of rain

later in the day changed their minds.

Perhaps the worst of the schedule chaos fell on fifth-seeded Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, whose second-round match started Thursday, was suspended for darkness that night, suspended again Friday because of rain, then was finished Saturday morning.

She won, then found herself forced to wait around all day for a scheduled third-round match that never happened.

As the rain let up, restarted, then let up again, Seles warmed up again and again.

"I was so happy to finish," Seles said, "because I've done so many warmups that I felt I was going to be tired from all the warmups, let alone the tennis match out there."

Sampras clearly was not pleased with his day, particularly since he performed so well early in the match. His serve looked as fierce as it did last summer, when he crushed most of his Wimbledon opponents, and he won his first three service games without Thomas Enqvist returning a single ball. Sampras won the first set, 6-3, and the two were on serve at 5-5 in the second at the end of the day.

The early evening washout came after nearly five hours of play under sunny skies. Hingis opened the day on Center Court with a strong performance and a quick 6-2, 6-1 victory over Elena Likhovtseva. Another fast finisher was Mark Philippoussis, the unseeded Australian who could meet Sampras in the quarterfinals. Philippoussis, who loves the grass courts here, ousted Daniele Bracciali of Italy, 6-3, 6-4, 6-4.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

MAJOR LEAGUE STANDINGS

AMERICAN LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	47	17	.732	0
Boston	42	22	.654	5 1/2
Toronto	41	23	.639	6 1/2
Baltimore	37	27	.576	10 1/2
Tampa Bay	32	32	.500	15 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	46	20	.692	0
San Francisco	42	24	.636	4
Kansas City	35	31	.529	11 1/2
Chicago	32	34	.485	14 1/2
Detroit	27	39	.399	19 1/2

WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Seattle	47	22	.682	0
Texas	46	23	.662	1
Oakland	34	25	.577	12 1/2
Seattle	24	35	.406	17 1/2

NATIONAL LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	52	29	.643	0
Philadelphia	49	32	.605	3 1/2
Montreal	42	39	.519	10 1/2
Pittsburgh	32	47	.403	20 1/2
Florida	27	52	.344	25 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	48	32	.600	0
Chicago	40	40	.500	8 1/2
St. Louis	39	41	.488	9 1/2
Pittsburgh	38	42	.475	10 1/2
Chicago	27	53	.338	19 1/2

WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Diego	51	28	.644	0
Los Angeles	49	30	.618	2 1/2
Colorado	39	40	.494	12 1/2
Arizona	27	54	.333	25 1/2

PREMIER LEAGUE

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	90	111	.448	11 1/2
Philadelphia	87	114	.434	14 1/2
Montreal	85	116	.425	16 1/2
Pittsburgh	82	119	.404	19 1/2
Florida	79	122	.393	22 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	88	110	.442	0
Chicago	85	113	.432	3 1/2
St. Louis	82	116	.412	6 1/2
Pittsburgh	79	122	.393	19 1/2
Florida	76	125	.380	22 1/2

WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Diego	91	109	.452	0
Los Angeles	89	111	.445	2 1/2
Colorado	79	121	.394	12 1/2
Arizona	67	133	.336	24 1/2

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NATIONAL LEAGUE

WORLD ROUNDUP

It Was Schumacher's Race From the Start



Sam Torrance, who won the French Open title on Sunday.

Torrance Triumphs

GOLF Sam Torrance birdied the final two holes Sunday to capture the \$800,000 French Open at Gyaucourt for his first victory in three years.

Torrance shed a tear as he hoisted the trophy. "It was the emotion of winning again after three years," he said.

His \$133,000 victory check was his first since his British Masters triumph three years ago. He is 14th on the European money list.

Five men shared the lead before Torrance hit a 7-wood within a foot of the cup on the 17th. Torrance, a 44-year-old Scot, hit a 2-under-par 70 for a total of 12-under 276.

Four golfers finished with a total of 278, after Massimo Florio of Italy and Olivier Edmond of France shot 67 in the final round; Bernhard Langer of Germany had 69, and Mathew Goggin of Australia shot 70. (AP)

NHL Makes Draft Picks

ICE HOCKEY Tampa Bay took Vincent Lecavalier, a 6-foot-4 center from Quebec, first overall in the National Hockey League draft Saturday in Buffalo. The Nashville Predators, an expansion team, then traded positions with the San Jose Sharks to pick David Legwand, a center from Ontario, second.

The Philadelphia Flyers traded defenseman Paul Coffey, a perennial All-Star, to the Chicago Blackhawks on Saturday for a fifth-round choice in the draft. Coffey immediately agreed to a two-year contract with the Blackhawks. (AP)

British Men Keep Title

ATHLETICS Britain won the final event to retain their European men's team title Sunday in Saint Petersburg. The British took the title by 2 1/2 points over Germany to qualify for the athletics World Cup in September in Johannesburg.

In the women's competition, Russia easily defended its title, ending with a total of 124 points, 16 points ahead of the Germans. (AP)

MAGNY COURS, France — Michael Schumacher was in first place from start to finish Sunday in the French Grand Prix as he led Ferrari's first 1-2 finish in nearly eight years. He closed within six points of Mika Hakkinen in the drivers' standings with half the Formula One season left.

The race was started twice. Hakkinen led

FRANCH GRAND PRIX

after the first start, but the race was halted to clear a stalled car off the starting grid.

On the second start, Schumacher was the first away and he never lost the lead.

Schumacher's Ferrari teammate, Eddie Irvine, acting as a buffer between Schumacher and Hakkinen for most of the race, came in second, 19.5 seconds behind.

Hakkinen, in a McLaren-Mercedes, was third, just behind Irvine after trying to pass him for the last 15 laps of the race.

It was the first 1-2 finish for Ferrari since the Spanish Grand Prix in 1990, when Alain Prost and Nigel Mansell took the top two slots in the cars.

Jacques Villeneuve, the Formula One champion last year, was fourth in a Williams-Mecachrome

car. Villeneuve beat Schumacher for the title in the last race of the 1997 season after a dramatic collision forced Schumacher out of the race.

Alexander Wurz of Austria was fifth, driving a Benetton-Playlife, followed by David Coulthard, who was plagued by problems fueling in the pits.

Schumacher completed the 71 laps of the 4.25-kilometer (2.65-mile) Magny Cours circuit in 1 hour, 34 minutes, 45.026 seconds. He averaged 190.963 kilometers per hour (118.664 miles per hour) for the 301.75 kilometers.

It was Schumacher's 30th career victory and third this season. He also has won the French Grand Prix four of the last five races.

The race was started twice. The first time, Jos Verstappen—who had replaced Jan Magnussen in the Stewart-Ford team this week—stalled just before the start as the rest of the field roared away. Hakkinen had the lead but the race was stopped.

On the restart, Schumacher and Irvine pulled ahead of Hakkinen on the first turn.

"I thought I had a good start and then when I saw Eddie in second, I thought, 'That's the scenario I'd like to have,'" Schumacher said.

Schumacher pulled away from Irvine, who forced the McLaren to lap about a second slower than Schumacher in the early stages.

Schumacher's lead was up to 11 seconds by the

end of 10 laps and evened to about 13 seconds after 15.

Meanwhile, Hakkinen continued to pressure Irvine and took his chance with an inside move on a curve on the 20th lap. He had passed Irvine but could not hold the line and spun out. He got back on track quickly but lost more than four seconds.

On the Magny-Cours track, Hakkinen said, "if you're stuck behind somebody, it's a nightmare."

"He was slow on entering the corners and gave me opportunity to overtake him," said Hakkinen. "I tried once, the corner was too tight to take it at that speed."

But, said Hakkinen, Irvine usually was not slow enough to overtake him safely.

"I think you have to be fair out there," Hakkinen said. "You cannot just bang into somebody and then crash."

He made a pit stop soon after to change tires and get fuel but Schumacher followed, now with a comfortable margin over Hakkinen.

After the first pit stops were sorted out by the 26th lap, Schumacher had an 18-second lead over Irvine and, more important, a 22-second advantage over Hakkinen, who had regained third from his teammate Coulthard.

By his second pit stop on the 45th lap, Schu-



Michael Schumacher winning Sunday's race.

Schumacher led by 24 seconds over Irvine and 33 over Hakkinen. Hakkinen held off pitting until 54 laps but wound up behind Irvine again.

Hakkinen was desperate to pass Irvine this time. He kept looking for an opening, but Irvine kept closing the door.

On the final curve, it became a drag race down the straightaway with Irvine holding off Hakkinen.

SOCCER: France Wins in Sudden Death

Continued from Page 1

counterattacked very selectively and dared the French team to do its worst in the absence of its suspended playmaker Zinedine Zidane.

Zidane, the creative midfielder whom French coach Aimé Jacquet calls his "conductor," would be sorely missed by his teammates on this bright, windy afternoon, and as the minutes and

FRANCE 1, PARAGUAY 0

squandered French opportunities ticked by, it began to look very likely that this long and often ugly match would come down to penalty kicks: precisely what Paraguay and its star goalkeeper were craving.

"I think we would have had a very good chance if we could have gotten to that stage," said Paraguay's Brazilian coach, Paulo Cesar Carpegiani.

But the French, despite all their ineffectual offensive play, still had other plans. Robert Pires dribbled down the right wing, as he had done frequently since replacing Thierry Henry, who went off in the 64th minute with an injured left ankle. This time, he managed to get past two defenders and cross the ball into the Paraguayan penalty area. Teammate David Trezeguet leaped and headed it back in the same direction, where the streaking Blanc, who had charged forward from his customary position in central defense, scored the only goal of the match with a single swipe of his right foot.

In previous World Cups, there would have been seven more minutes to play, but this is the first year of the "golden goal," or as Americans call it, "sudden death," and while the French team rushed to engulf Blanc, the Paraguayan players slumped to the turf as if they had been hit by some sort of fast-acting chemical weapon.

They had surprised even soccer aficionados by qualifying for the second round at the expense of Spain, but they would not create a bigger surprise by

reaching the quarterfinals. The team that will face Italy on July 3 in St. Denis will be, as expected, France, and Zidane will be back in the lineup having purged his two-game suspension for a red card.

"Today, Zidane might have been the happiest man on the team," the normally reserved Jacquet said after he had finished kissing Blanc on the cheek and hugging every other player he could get his long arms around.

After failing even to qualify for the last two World Cup finals, France has won all four of its matches in front of its hard-to-please fans.

"France is starting to identify with its national team, and it's important that that continues," Blanc had said.

There were moments of backsliding on Sunday: whistles that came raining down when the team failed to convert in front of the goal; whistles that accompanied the midfielder Emmanuel Petit as he jogged off the field in the second half to be replaced by Alain Boghossian. More understandably, there were also whistles for Chilavert, the powerful man whose fricas-filled past and enormous gift for goalkeeping and free kicks have made him the only real star on an overachieving Paraguayan team.

Like the French, Paraguay had missed the last two World Cup finals. Like the French, the bulk of the Paraguayan players are expatriates who play for professional clubs outside their nation: mostly in Brazil and Argentina. But dispersion does not seem to equate with confusion in this era. Brazil won the last World Cup with a largely expatriate lineup, and France now has a chance to do the same with its gifted, multiracial cast that includes Baresi, Bretons, Parisians, the Ghana-born defender Marcel Desailly and the French-born son of Argentine parents: Trezeguet.

But there was nothing exotic about the player who put France into the second round. The 32-year-old Blanc was born and raised in the village of Roussou in the Cevennes in southern



Laurent Blanc scoring the winning goal Sunday for France against Paraguay's goalkeeper, Jose Luis Chilavert.

France. He is a reserved man who chooses extroverted friends, such as Eric Cantona, the enigmatic, charismatic French star who never got the chance to play in a World Cup because of France's spectacular failure in 1993, when Emil Kostadinov scored a late goal for Bulgaria in the final qualifying game.

That night, the last defender to have a shot at stopping Kostadinov, and saving France, was Blanc. He announced his retirement from the national team after that experience, but Jacquet convinced him that he was still indispensable in France's central defense, and after Sun-

day's goal, Blanc can now say that he has repaid his debt to French society.

He is one of the few members of the team who plays in France year-round, having joined Marseille last season after a year with Barcelona. The two other players who took part in the game-winning sequence also play in the French first division: Pires at Metz and Trezeguet in Monaco. They are relatively new to the French national team, but Blanc has been around long enough to know how much it took for France to get back to the World Cup quarterfinals. Sunday's match was his 72d for France, which equals the total

of Michel Platini, who was watching next to Prime Minister Lionel Jospin of France in the stands in Lens.

Both Platini and the prime minister leaped to their feet after Blanc's dramatic goal, and before long, Chilavert regained his feet, too. One by one, he approached his fallen teammates and lifted the smaller men off the ground. The medallion bearing the likeness of the Madonna of Lourdes that Chilavert places inside his goal had not brought him good luck this time.

But then, isn't Lourdes part of France?

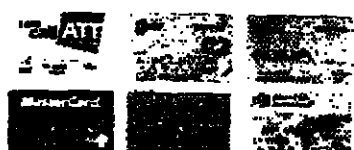


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Czech Republic	00-42-000-101	Israel	1-800-94-94-99	Sweden	020-795-611
Egypt (Cairo)	510-0200	Italy	172-1971	Switzerland	0800-89-0011
France	0-800-99-0011	Netherlands	0800-022-0111	United Kingdom	0800-89-0011
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